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INTERPERSONAL COMMUNICATION CODES

by



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A THESIS

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a thesis entitled "Interpersonal Communication Codes" submitted by Margaret Jones in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Education.

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ABSTRACT

In this study the writer considers the terms "nonverbal communication" to show that the vocal verbal code is always accompanied by many other codes in any interpersonal communication interaction. These codes must be considered part of the verbal transaction, not separate from it, as they are inexorably present. It is hypothesized that a knowledge of these interpersonal codes and their functioning has relevance for educational theory and practice. The interpersonal codes, apart from the vocal verbal code, are examined and their relevance to teachers, parents, administrators and students is suggested.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND PROBLEM

1.1 Introduction

Education as a formal activity has been dominated throughout much of its history by the business of "teaching" which was carried out by the "teacher". He knew the facts which had to be learned and told them, in speech and writing, to the students. Students were socially conditioned to be obedient, respectful and conforming. Parental control and respect for authority discouraged all but a few rebels to accept what was given to them.

Two recent developments threaten this circle - the freedom now permitted to children to express their own ideas and their dissatisfaction with the feeling of alienation and loneliness in the impersonal world of technical progress and large populations. In regard to the first of these developments the early socialization of some children now permits them to express their wishes more freely. Their needs are more likely to be considered valid and important and they are no longer completely subservient to authority. Some students perceive themselves as the customers in the business venture of education and they know it is big business. As consumers they perceive that they have power, as other consumers have, and that they can bring pressure to bear to ensure their needs are met. In common with other newly elevated dictators, a student sometimes perceives his former boss as a humbug and a hindrance, a barrier to the kind of learning he wants to acquire and an outmoded encumbrance.

Accompanying this social swing, technological developments appear to him to be able to provide the information perceived as the "commodity" dispensed in the business of education. Some students believe that given books, audiotapes, slides, film strips, films, educational television, programmed instruction and computer assisted retrieval systems they could educate themselves. If machines can provide information, teachers are heard to express the fear that they may be employed only as programmers of machines.

In regard to the second development, students are craving emotional support, "someone to talk to", friendship and something "authentic" in which they can believe. A popular folk ballad encapsulates the loneliness some students feel -- "Everyone's talking at me, I don't hear a word they say". This theme of loneliness and alienation runs throughout much recent writing; for example, Rollo May says, "Another characteristic of modern people is loneliness. They describe this feeling as one of being "on the outside", isolated, or, if they are sophisticated, they say that they feel alienated. Modern existentialism is a reaction against the stress of science and technology which seems to reduce man to an object... "a knowable object of science, whose dimensions are reducible to quantitative scientific measurement, and whose place in the world

¹Rollo May. Man's Search for Himself. Winnipeg: Signet Books, 1953, 1967, p. 23.

is as an object among objects".² Therapists such as Carl Rogers have devoted their therapeutic skills to alleviating the terrible loneliness of their clients.³ Philip Slater begins The Pursuit of Loneliness with the verse

Kathy, I'm lost, "I said,
Though I knew she was sleepy
I'm empty and aching and
I don't know why".⁴

This striving for human understanding is often blamed on "lack of communication", a meaningless phrase for an uncomfortable situation. Students, parents and teachers believe things would be better if they could somehow overcome this problem of "communication".

In specifying forms of activity representative of what might be "special" about education in the future Bruner included as one category:

that it provide training in the performance of unpredictable services. . . acts that are contingent on a response made by somebody to your act. I propose this as a critical task, for as the society becomes more interdependent, more geared to technological requirement it is crucial that it not become⁵ alienated internally, flat emotionally, and gray.

²Edward A. Tiryakian. Sociologism and Existentialism. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1962, p. 77.

³Carl Rogers. On Becoming a Person. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1961.

⁴Philip E. Slater. The Pursuit of Loneliness. Toronto: Saunders, 1970.

⁵Jerome S. Bruner. "Culture, Politics and Pedagogy", Saturday Review, May 18, 1968, p. 72.

Responses to the unpredictable, responses made by somebody provide the uniquely human element in day-to-day educational activities. They are made when two people talk together. Misunderstanding, alienation and anger often seem to arise because people do not fully realize that the words they speak (locutions) are only one code among many being processed by both participants in the interaction at all times. Words may be kind but other channels may signal suspicion, dislike or lack of interest.

A teacher is a professional communicator. To act as a professional, not as an amateur, he must be aware of the parameters of human communicative interaction, the codes by which people exchange messages at all times. These codes are learned in the process of becoming an adult; thus they function out of awareness and are not readily available for inspection. It is only by bringing communication as a total system into awareness that the teacher can understand what he himself is communicating, react sensitively to the communications of his students and develop skill in the management of his own communication behaviors; only then will he become truly professional.

Martin Buber has said:

that people can no longer carry on authentic dialogue with one another is not only the most acute symptom of the pathology of our time, it is also that which most urgently makes a demand of us. I believe, despite all, that the peoples in this hour can enter into dialogue, into a genuine dialogue with one another. In a genuine dialogue each of the partners, even when he stands in opposition to the other, heeds, affirms, and confirms

his opponent as an existing other. Only so can conflict certainly not be eliminated from the world, but be humanly arbitrated and led towards its overcoming.⁶

Over the last two years this writer has presented some of the information on which this study is based to mature teachers, teachers in training, home economists in training and to parents of their pupils. Interest has been immediate. Many people saw whole patterns of events associated with their own behavior, or that of others, which were illuminated by the insights they gained into various communication codes.

During this time educators have become aware of the relevance of the so-called nonverbal parameter to classroom activities. For example, Galloway's Teaching is Communicating was published in 1970 and was preceded by several of his papers.⁷ These, however, focussed attention almost exclusively on gross behavior; gestures and movement of the body, and eye behavior. Galloway's treatment does not reveal the depth or breadth of the codes already known. There is a video tape called "Nonverbal Behavior" in the micro teaching series by Flanders and Amidon, but this again concentrates on gestures as if they were the whole of nonverbal behavior.

The writer felt that research and theories developed by scholars outside the field of educational practice should be

⁶ Martin Buber. "In This Hour", in The Way of Response, N. N. Glatzer, ed. New York: Schocken Books, 1966, p. 122.

⁷ Charles M. Galloway. Teaching is Communicating. Washington, D.C.: Bulletin 29, Association for Student Teaching, 1970.

presented as a contribution to bringing into awareness the complex nature of communication codes concomitant with speech.

1.2 The Problem

The words and sentences of vocal speech constitute one code among many in the interaction of two people engaged in talk. Pre-occupation with this lexical component can obscure the significance of all the concomitant codes and modalities which make up the total pattern of interpersonal communication. It is misleading to believe that the nonlinguistic concomitants of speech decrease into insignificance as verbal dexterity increases. Face-to-face speech devoid of the context, the personal attributes of the speakers and the constant exchange of visual, kinetic, olfactory and auditory signals would be very different indeed. The term "nonverbal communication" has often been used for these concomitant message systems, but it is clear that verbal communication must include, not exclude, them; since the lexical component in situations of talk cannot stand alone.

This study examines relevant philosophical theories on which assumptions about communication are made, considers the term "non-verbal communication" and presents a survey and descriptive analysis of the necessary concomitants of vocal speech in face-to-face interaction. The writer also wishes to discover whether the hypothesis can be substantiated that an awareness of the operation of these codes will help teachers understand the total pattern of communicative behavior and that this knowledge can be used to enrich pedagogical encounters.

1.3 Scheme of the Study

The study includes:

1. Concepts related to communication and education drawn from philosophy, psychology, the natural sciences, sociology, and communication theory.
2. A discussion of the term "nonverbal communication".
3. Concomitants of speech:
 - (a) Setting, time and space;
 - (b) Personal codes;
 - (c) Paralanguage and kinesic.
4. Relevance to educational practice.

1.4 Sources of Information

The writer's interest was sparked by material presented in a non-credit evening class given by Dr. Herman Tennessen. Included in one lecture was Dr. Henry Lee Smith's film⁸ on the analysis of the extralinguistic features of the voice and body movements accompanying vocal speech. Dr. Smith made two provocative statements: that locutions were "embedded in a matrix of paralanguage and kinesic" and that, "whatever communication ostensibly is about it is always about ourselves". Further research and collection of mimeographed material from Dr. Smith and Dr. Ray Birdwhistell added to the writer's interest. Other sources were the relevant books and journals in the libraries of the University of Alberta.

⁸Language and Meaning. Language and Linguistics Series. Film, Net 1962.

CHAPTER TWO

FOUNDATION THEORIES

2.1 Philosophical Theories

The dichotomy reflected in the term nonverbal communication implies that some theorists accept the assumption that there are two types of communication behavior. The general use of this term appears to mean that people believe there is a stream of words formed into sentences, constituting the verbal channel of communication; and other ways of communicating which constitute a separate and distinct type of communication, the nonverbal. Traditional philosophers, for example, may be said to perceive the utterance as the carrier of the rational thoughts and ideas of the mind. Gestures, facial expression and unfortunate accidents such as blushing express emotional feelings. They would counsel the rational man to reduce the emotional elements whenever possible since they would interfere with the clear rationality of the mind. Rational ideas would be expressed by means of the vocal verbal channel.

It would appear that philosophers from Plato to Descartes believed that emotions were centred in the body, reason centred in the head. Some western philosophy, as in the dualism of Descartes, assumes a universal static reality which is outside, and independent of, the person who is observing and experiencing it. It follows they believed reality could be grasped by the rational intellect when not hindered by the emotions. Reality could be discussed in speech between rational people unemotionally; speech could carry the facts, ideas abstracted from reality, between people, just as an antiseptic

pipe can carry pure water. This knowledge was seen by these philosophers as objective knowledge and has largely been the "content" of traditional educational curricula. Traditionally, scientific knowledge also presupposes that its axioms are built on this type of rational, objective knowledge which is not biased by the feelings of the perceiver. Descartes' "cogito" staked all on his belief that man's only sure touchstone was his mind; a mind which could think rationally if one was sufficiently calm.¹

Such philosophic positions led to glorification of the literate man, one whose thoughts were even further removed from the emotions of the body by being transcribed into written form which others could read. It is little wonder that the complex social behaviors in which speech is embedded in its natural state should be discounted or overlooked.

In contrast to the dualism of traditional Western philosophy, the existential philosophers have stressed the inseparability of the knower and the known. Since the intricacies of existentialist thought provide no integrated system, its theories are difficult to

¹Note the phrase in Aschner's essay on The Language of Teaching. "In describing the verbal interplay of the classroom, therefore, special care must be taken to define verbal behavior in terms faithful to our purposes - the simple, unbiased description of teaching activities carried on during regular class sessions: (italics supplied by writer). From B. Othanel Smith and Robert Ennis, Language and Concepts in Education. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1961, p. 117.

encapsulate satisfactorily.² However, it seems fair to say that such philosophers believe that moods and feelings such as characterize subjective knowledge are modes which provide direct and absolutely certain modes of apprehending reality.³ The subject-object dichotomy typical of rationalism is denied by existentialism which sees man complete with his attitudes, perceptual biases and emotions always central to what he knows.

At the heart of Nietzsche's metaphysics is his idea that there is no other world save the one given us by our senses. Philosophy has gravely erred in fabricating another world which stands in opposition to "the world of appearance". It is not the biological world of sentience, but the metaphysical world of substance, permanence, cause and being which is an illusion, our senses do not lie. It is "reason" (the Socratic spirit) which introduces distortions and falsifications by its interpretation of what the senses convey.⁴

Or as another writer puts it, "Being-in-the-world heals the split between subject and object and restores the oneness of man and the world".⁵

²The writer does not lay claim to any substantial knowledge of existentialist thought, but the apparent coincidences of point of view make such theories appear especially pertinent. The exploration of concepts of communication derived from philosophical positions suggest a worthy dissertation area.

³Edward A. Tiryakian. Sociologism and Existentialism. op. cit., p. 73.

⁴Tiryakian, op. cit., p. 90.

⁵Calvin S. Hall and Gardner Lindzey. Theories of Personality. New York: John Wiley, (1957), 1970, p. 559.

This point of view is easily transferable to the thesis that extralinguistic features of communication behavior are not only an integral part of behavior (not an addition used to modify the central part (the locution) which carries the "primary meaning") but that the complex of perceived behavior can and should be believed. Such a complex is much more difficult to falsify than the single, easily manipulated channel of the locution.

Support for the importance of extralinguistic features of language is provided by Austin's discussion of explicit performatives. His discussion revolves around the force of "illocutionary" acts, that is, the performance of an act in saying something such as "I promise" being the act of promising. In dealing with conditions which will make the act effective, he says:

for some years we have been realizing more and more clearly that the occasion of an utterance matters seriously, and that the words used are to some extent to be "explained" by the context in which they are designed to be or have actually been spoken in a linguistic interchange.⁶

If one utters the words "I promise. . ." but the promised action is not within the speaker's power to fulfil, or he is laughing or teasing to show off to someone else, the promise will not be intended as a bona fide promise nor received as such, if the hearer is wise. Austin calls these conditions infelicities. The total context

⁶J. L. Austin, How To Do Things With Words. J. O. Urmson, (ed.). New York: Oxford University Press, 1965, p. 100.

determines the way the utterance "is to be taken". Of course, the promiser may be aware that the context is not sufficiently structured that it is clear how the promise is to be taken. Books have been written and lives changed by this type of ambiguity. The uttering of any performative sentence which purports to do something by making a statement -- such as in saying "I marry" one marries, in saying "I bet" one bets -- is shown to be only a small part of the whole context which gives validity to the action. Although some young ladies would no doubt wish it were so, to say "I do" even in a serious tone of voice does not constitute the act of marriage unless all the necessary circumstances are appropriate. To a student of the social matrix of locutions, this is no surprise. It is to repeat that the locution cannot stand alone. Strawson puts the same case strongly in stating that the context of an utterance is:

...of an importance which is almost impossible to exaggerate, and by "context" I mean, at least, the time, the place, the situation, the identity of the speaker, the subjects which form the immediate focus of interest, and the personal histories of both speaker and those he is addressing.⁷

Rhees, in refuting the idea that there could be a "private language", uses arguments based on similar sociological and evolutionary views of language. He says:

⁷P. F. Strawson, On Referring, in The Theory of Meaning. G. H. R. Parkinson, (ed.). London: Oxford University Press, 1968, p. 77.

To invent a vocabulary he (the speaker) would have at least to invent ways of using these sounds in various circumstances, in circumstances of a social life which has in fact grown up with language and could no more be invented than language could Language is something which is spoken.⁸

2.2 Psychological Theories

Some concepts developed by psychologists are relevant to the writer's conviction that meaning is derived from the structured communication situation as a whole. Two of these which appear specially important are the:

(a) Gestalt

Any situation is a mosaic of elements attended to selectively by the human being according to his basic attitudinal set, his immediate motivation or need, and the intrinsic features of the elements themselves. He can accept only a definite number of simultaneous signals, but can rapidly switch his signal acceptance capacities to increase the overall capacity and so build up a gestalt or total pattern from all the available stimuli. Koffka states:

There is no one-to-one correlation between a set of cells and its interpretation of signals but rather a pattern forming potential from shapes and sounds which relate to previous experiences and are processed as the "meaning" of the situation as a whole. The "laws" of constancy, orientation, proximity and distance,

⁸R. Rhees, "Can there be a private language", in: Philosophy and Ordinary Language. Charles E. Caton, (ed.). Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1963, p. 96.

closure, and organization of perceptions, such as figure and ground are well documented.⁹

Gestalt psychology believes that recognition of a pattern is based on previous experience of the pattern. Parts of the pattern are sufficient to let the decoder "see" the whole.

When people speak together, all their senses are receiving stimuli. It would be odd to suppose that the listener decodes only the words, without attending to the multiple stimuli receivable from all other modalities.

(b) Motivation

Timothy Leary states as his First Working Principle and the basic premise of his work:

Interpersonal behavior is aimed at reducing anxiety. All the social, emotional, interpersonal activities of an individual can be understood as attempts to avoid anxiety or to establish and maintain self-esteem. The primal anxiety is the fear of abandonment -- not only physical separation from the group but of rejection and social disapproval. The development of the need for self-esteem grows with the maturation of the child and can be seen as an extension of the need for social acceptance and security.¹⁰

This powerful concept can be used as a cornerstone for theorizing about the many modalities of communication behavior.

⁹K. Koffka, Principles of Gestalt Psychology. New York: Harcourt Brace, 1935, 1963.

¹⁰Timothy Leary, Interpersonal Diagnosis of Personality. New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1957, p. 15.

Speech content is often a ritual social usage to ward off anxiety and as a way of avoiding silence. Words are exchanged to seek social approval and maintain contact with the group, an excuse for interaction through other communicative codes. Since man is a social animal, ostracism is cause for serious anxiety. Separation from the group is traumatic and potentially fatal.

A related theory is put forward by Morris. He calls it social grooming. Fundamental to comfort and survival needs are appeasement and reassurance. Signals which reduce aggressive tendencies in others are followed by socially accepted rituals which signal acceptance in the group. The dominant participant can signal reassurance so that "the other" is willing to approach. The strong need for social acceptance results in constant testing behaviors to rate acceptance in the group. This monitoring behavior allows each animal to make the necessary adaptations designed to ensure continued group acceptance.¹¹ The emotional comfort of an individual depends on his social acceptance, so that man constantly seeks and needs both to give and to receive social approval. Both linguistic and extralinguistic codes perform these vital roles. In "The Virginian" the tenderfoot narrating the story is surprised that Steve, gets away with calling the Virginian a "son-of-a-.....", expecting him to be "struck down". He forgot that Steve was a valued friend and

¹¹ Desmond Morris, The Naked Ape. London: Jonathan Cape, 1967, pp. 201-206.

that he was "grinning at him affectionately". However in the card game the same phrase from his opponent results in a drawn pistol and the famous line "when you call me that, smile".¹²

The separation of speech from expressive or emotional behavior was strongly supported by fundamentalist theologies. Resistance to the theory of an unbroken evolutionary history, of which man is a part, led to the vigorous protection of speech and language as man's exclusive and God-given domain. Communication of animals was not thought to be comparable with that of man, and much of the literature is devoted to whether the signs and communication of animals other than man can properly be called "language".¹³ In other words it depends only on how one defines language. Samuel Butler, in an essay full of wit, came to the defense of the thesis, that animals other than man had both thought and language.¹⁴ Darwin, in trying to

¹²Owen Wister, The Virginian. New York: Macmillan Co., 1902, p. 29.

¹³See for example Susan Langer, "Philosophy in a New Key", Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1957, Chapter 5. Langer is strongly opposed to calling the signs used by animals "language".

¹⁴Butler ends his essay with a fine paragraph insisting that although man had an articulate language this was only a difference in degree, not in kind. "This (difference) however, does not bar the communications which the lower animals make to one another from possessing all the essential characteristics of language. . .we find such communications effectuated by the aid of arbitrary symbols covenanted upon by the living beings and persistently associated with certain corresponding feelings, states of mind, or material objects. Human language is nothing more than this in principal. . . ." Samuel Butler, Thought and Language, in The Importance of Language. Max Black, (ed.) Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1962, p. 35.

develop a theory about the audible and visible behavior in mammals related to their emotional states, was a pioneer in evolutionary communication theory. His dilemma in trying to develop fully his embryonic theories can be attributed to his adherence to traditional Christian teaching and the fact that theories of social systems were not well developed at that time.

2.3 Biological Theories

The expressive behaviors of animals other than man have long been recognized as a complex pattern of communication. Many social communities of animals such as bees and ants have long evolutionary histories, yet they did not have speech to help in carrying on their survival needs. However they do have complex communication patterns. All the necessary functions of group life can be satisfied by the repertoires of calls, cries, songs, roars, barks, courting and mating patterns, aggression and appeasement signals, copiously documented in observations of animal communities.

Such patterns developed with the social structure. They may be inherited or learned (although they are not usually consciously taught), and they are a necessary part of the survival of the species. The "Gestalt" of size and shape, color and form, movement and voicing may function to identify species, gender, status and power.

The controversy as to whether speech developed from the cries of other animals may be resolved by neurological research which has shown that the centers of such signals lie in the brain stem, in the hypothalamic and midbrain regions and other subcortical areas.

Brazier states categorically: "None of these sites is the homologue for the neocortical speech area of man".¹⁵ However, development of speech and language did not lead to the atrophy of the power to interact by unspoken codes; it simply added a powerful new dimension. It is a major fallacy to suppose that because man can speak he is cut off from the evolutionary stream and the mechanisms which enabled him to survive as a species. Man is a social animal with a complex system of communication which developed as he developed. It is inconceivable that the responsibility for survival should be given over to one slender channel alone, that of vocal verbal speech.

2.4 Communication Theories

The literature is rich in communication theories but only two theories will be mentioned here specifically.

Information theory made a significant advance with the publication of Shannon's work in 1948. The crux of Shannon's definition of information is the equating of information with statistical unexpectedness. Information is provided by "surprise", the unexpected (low probability of occurrence). Tennessen points out that language behaviors can be located along a continuum from the tautological to the absurd.¹⁶ This fits in with Shannon's concept of the

¹⁵Mary A. B. Brazier, Neurophysical Contributions, in Human Communication Theory. Frank E. Y. Dance, (ed.). New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967, p. 65.

¹⁶See Herman Tennessen, "On Worthwhile Hypotheses". Inquiry, Vol. 2, 1959, where this theory is particularly well developed in relation to significant and insignificant hypotheses.

unexpected as that which is informative. No information is to be gained from the tautological, little from the trivial but increasing increments from slight unexpectedness to great unexpectedness until the situation is rejected as beyond acceptance.¹⁷

Contrary perhaps to general beliefs, the majority of interaction episodes provide no new information. They function as integration procedures in support of the on-going social system. They serve to further personal, social and psychological goals or as ways of seeking and gaining, bestowing or refusing emotional support.

Watzlawick states as an axiom of his Pragmatics of Human Communication, "One cannot not communicate".¹⁸ This axiom is derived from his assumption that communication is a condition of human life and that we must accept all behavior as communication. Watzlawick uses these assumptions to shed light on the behavior of schizophrenic patients who need desperately to stop communicating with others because past experience has taught them that whatever they do will be wrong. The difficulties of not communicating while still remaining part of society are perhaps equally applicable to pupils in schools.

¹⁷This theory is particularly well developed in relation to visual and auditory perception by Moles. See: Abraham Moles, Information Theory and Esthetic Perception. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1966.

¹⁸Paul Watzlawick, J. H. Beavin and D. D. Jackson, Pragmatics of Human Communication. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1967, p. 51.

CHAPTER THREE

"NONVERBAL COMMUNICATION"

3.1 The Term "Communication"

Any attempt to explicate the definitions of the term "communication" may be compared with plunging into a hive of swarming bees; supposing one survives, the consequences are likely to be painful. It is a job better left to experts.

Nevertheless, a concept determines what shall, and what shall not, be admitted as a valid field of study. This in turn affects the principles derivable from it. Examination of the literature reveals that a disturbing assortment of diverse problems, whole disciplines and even various developing professions have now been classified as communication. Anything from a multi-million dollar transit system or computer terminal to a family brawl in the kitchen can be studied as a communication problem. Writing in 1965, Birdwhistell stated:

It is not unique in the history of science for a new discipline to bifurcate even in the process of formation This may very well be the phenomenon observable today in that everyman's land which stretches from revised S-R theory through cybernetics, information theory, sign theory, systems theory and mathematical communication theory into social interactional semantic, psycholinguistic and human communicational theory.¹

In 1964 Thayer stated: "In the last six years of literature I count more than twenty-five conceptually different referents for

¹Ray L. Birdwhistell, Conceptual Bases and Applications of the Communicational Sciences. University of California, 1965. mimeographed.

this term".²

Margaret Mead throughout her writing makes communication synonymous with culture. Such broad concepts may be contrasted with definitions which insist the term should be restricted to information transmission, or to a process, or to a channel, or to intentional sending of signals, or conversely when any signals are received and interpreted.³

A major issue seems to be the question of intentionality. Miller, in defending his own definition which had as its central tenet that, "the source transmits a message to a receiver with conscious intent to affect the latter's behavior", says:

The notion of intent generates much controversy, most of which can be viewed as quibbling and intellectual hair-splitting. By including the term "conscious", I have attempted to avoid the anguished cries of Freudians, who contend that most of our motivations are not consciously known to us. My own position in regard to this issue is that even if most of our behaviors spring from unconscious motivations, such a concept is relatively useless in building a science of communication behavior.⁴

Miller goes on to explain that the difficulty of deciding what aspects are intentional could be established by intersubjective

²Lee O. Thayer, "On Theory Building in Communication", The Journal of Communication, Vol. 14, 1966, p. 217.

³Frank E. Y. Dance, "The Concept of Communication", The Journal of Communication, Vol. 20, June 2, 1970, pp. 201-210.

⁴Gerald R. Miller, "On Defining Communication: Another Stab", The Journal of Communication, Vol. 16:2, pp. 88-97.

reliability, that is, a high degree of inter-observer agreement that intent is involved -- a similar technique to Tennesson's empirical semantics. Gerbner, however, insists that:

Attaching the criterion of intentionality does not help to clarify matters. If the interaction involves a code or representation with recognized message properties . . . we are inquiring into a communication act which has consequences.⁵

Dance appears to support the view that to include only intentional acts would be both overrestrictive and impractical. He states:

The conceptual component of intentionality markedly reduces the behavioral field and substantially alters a theory's range and power. The concept of "intentionality" is one of those instances in which experience and reality seem to object to the conceptual component. If one chooses to include only acts which are characterized by sender intent as communication then how does one classify acts wherein there is manifest deception or accident, but which result in the acquisition of information. . .?⁶

Thayer supports this position strongly in stating as one of the major conceptual obstacles to the development of viable and heuristic theories as:

. . . the tacit assumption in most of what we say and do in communication that the "communication behavior" of humans is conscious and willed. Communication behavior, as with all behavior, proceeds not primarily from a conscious willing but from behavioral repertoires, a part of a person's characteristic behavior.⁷

⁵George Gerbner, "On Defining Communication: Still Another View", The Journal of Communication, Vol. 16:2, pp. 99-103.

⁶Dance, op. cit., p. 109.

⁷Thayer, op. cit., p. 217.

Goffman's considerable body of work on the presentation of the self and the way roles are played provides descriptive data in the integration of intentional and non-intentional components in all social behavior.⁸

The writer's position is that the dichotomy is yet another example of a "language trap". In relation to phenomena so complex, there must surely be a continuum from unintentional acts interpreted as meaningful by the receiver (such as the noisy way a person eats soup forming the basis for some assumptions about him) to highly structured messages carefully designed and accurately received, such as a complex set of instructions.

The concept of success, a point on which definitions differ markedly, is equally difficult to define. The normative sense of the word "communication" infects the concept in a positive way. To say "we can communicate" is to include the success of the interaction; where success has eluded us we say "we cannot communicate" although in fact many messages may have been received and understood. It is not appropriate to ask whether a piece of communication is successful. One can ask whether information or attitudes have been successfully transmitted or whether communication has been effective, but one cannot ask whether communication succeeded or failed.

Advocates of the successful "act" criterion appear to be

⁸Erving Goffman, The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life. New York: Doubleday, 1959.

Campbell and Hepler, when they declare as a major premise that:

...all communication is persuasive. The receiver must modify his behavior so that it more clearly conforms to the source's expectations. Unless this modification occurs, persuasion has not taken place. And if persuasion has not taken place, the situation is not persuasive.⁹

This may confuse ends and means. Can one judge the existence of the means by the appearance only of the intended ends? There will be some result even if this result is diametrically opposed to the one intended. To restrict, by definition, all acts which are not perceived as "successful" by the so-called "source" might be crippling and illogical. If communication is defined either as a structure or a process, it is not concerned with outcomes.

However, Austin takes the view that an "illocutionary act" will not have been achieved unless it "secured uptake". He says "I cannot be said to have warned an audience unless it hears what I say and takes what I say in a certain sense".¹⁰ He repeats this again in speaking of "the issuing of an utterance in any speech situation".¹¹

Hymes points out that in examining any other culture it would be considered highly significant that the language provides so few

⁹James H. Campbell and Hal W. Hepler, Dimensions in Communication. Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1965, p. 4.

¹⁰Austin, op. cit., p. 116.

¹¹Ibid., p. 116.

terms signifying successful interaction between two people. (He suggests rapport "as one of the few".)¹² However, there are other ways to look at the concept of communication which seem more useful.

Birdwhistell proposed recently (1968) that:

It is more efficient to conceive of communication as an overall structure which orders the code than it is to see communication as the resultant or the additive composite of a multiple of codes each dependent upon their particular modalities. Furthermore, the codes discernible in each of the modalities are seen as more efficiently studied when conceived of as derived from the superstructure rather than as immanent in the physical or chemical properties which the code utilizes as carriers. . . . Communication, as a cultural system, constitutes the order which gives relevance to the sensory behavior selected to carry out the social task.¹³

He gives an example of the idea he has in mind by referring to a building. The building consists of wood and stone but adding up the pieces does not give us a house. "The house is not implicit in the tree. The structure precedes and gives continuity to the process".¹⁴

¹²Dell Hymes, "The Anthropology of Communication" in Dance, op. cit., p. 21, also Pittenger in a thoughtful paragraph on the long discussions held between colleagues while analyzing taped interviews notes the number of terms they used which carried overtones of hostility -- "a blow by blow account", "ploy", "strategy", "tactics" -- and the few terms possible to denote affection free from sexual overtones. R. E. Pittenger, Charles F. Hockett, John J. Daneby, The First Five Minutes. New York: Paul Martineau, 1960,

¹³Ray L. Birdwhistell, "Kinesics, Inter- and Intra-Channel Communication Research". In Studies in Semantics. Thomas A. Sebeol, (ed.). Paris: Mouton, 1968.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 4. mimeographed.

A similarly useful distinction is made by Dance when he points out the distinction between communications and communication. Communications refer to specific instances of the transfer of messages or exchange of information, by whatever modality; whereas communication could better be reserved,

...to refer to the study of the theory and principles underlying the origination, sending, receiving and interpreting of messages whatever their number or mode.¹⁵

Since most definitions, except those of man-made systems, turn out to be preferences for parameters for any specific situation rather than absolutes, it seems adequate to include in this study all messages between two human beings in conversation, whether intentional or unintentional, and to subsume, as Berlo does that, "...in any communication situation the participants are inter-dependent".¹⁶ I believe that it is not valid to separate the speaker from the receiver except as a semantic device. There is no listener without a speaker, no speaker without a listener, no audience without a speaker, no speaker without an audience. They form an inseparable system. A conversation is an I-thou unit.

¹⁵ Frank E. Y. Dance, Towards a Theory of Human Communication, in Dance, op. cit., p. 279.

¹⁶ David K. Berlo, The Process of Communication. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1960.

"Communication does not happen to an audience, the audience is a part of it".¹⁷

3.2 The Term "Nonverbal"

The term nonverbal has been used for gestures, intonations, facial expression, body angle and other modalities which are said to modify the verbal message. The enormous power of spoken and written language with its identification as the unique human attribute has resulted in laymen and professional alike focusing almost entirely on the lexical component of message system. Words and sentences appear to be thought synonymous with the total act of communication.

Particularly since the advent of mass distribution of written language and mass distribution of spoken language, men appear to be reinforced in their belief that locutions are the way information is exchanged in the "real" world and that the "significant" aspects of communication are contained in these lexical "sausages".

This study is largely devoted to a different view.

Birdwhistell has said it would be better to ask questions such as:

"In what situations are lexications (his term for locutions) relevant and necessary and what are their functions in any particular

situation"?¹⁸ Examples from a recent essay on nonverbal communication by Randall Harrison may serve to illustrate a typical all inclusive

¹⁷ Ray Birdwhistell, in Approaches to Semantics. Thomas A. Sebeol, (ed.). London: Mouton, 1964, p. 138.

¹⁸ Ray L. Birdwhistell, personal communication. Simon Fraser University, Vancouver, B.C., 1968. (permission to quote.)

use of the term. In the introduction to his article the editors note that apart from language, spoken and written, another code exists:

This other code, the nonverbal, has been relatively little studied and many of us use it almost unconsciously. The nonverbal code consists of such things as gestures, facial expressions and our use of time and space . . . and the way we present ourselves to others (described by Goffman) is often nonverbal.¹⁹

Many fallacies are present here. The writers state that there is a code, one, instead of many, and that this one code has been little studied, but the present study shows that much work has been done but that it has not been integrated to become a "whole". Also the thesis of the present study is that all of us use many codes at all times and that this use is unavoidable. The way we present ourselves to others always (not often) includes the "nonverbal".

The term "nonverbal" is inaccurate also because it places "the verbal" as the central concept and all other communication behavior an addendum or poor relation. The study of the structure of spoken and written languages, linguistics, has made rapid progress, probably because until recently linguistic information was readily available for research. Now audiotape, film and videotape used with small but highly sensitive microphones and cameras, which do not intrude upon normal interaction, make data available in audio

¹⁹Randall Harrison, "Nonverbal Communication, Explorations with Time, Space, Action and Object", in Dance, op. cit., p. 159.

and visual forms. These data can be studied over and over again, by one man or many. They can be discussed for months so that every nuance is examined, making possible complete analyses of visual and auditory signals. Previously, as Hymes says:

The centrality of language to any concern with communication was so stressed that it might seem that linguistics wished to receive credit for working at the center of human communication theory, while ignoring the communicative process almost entirely.²⁰

3.3 The Cognitive-Affective Dichotomy

It has been traditional to consider that the results of cognitive processes were transferred on the channel of discursive language -- the speech code -- and that this channel was relatively free from distortion and was subject to the will of the sender. The receiver's passive auditory channel accepted this digital code in a relatively unaltered form and, as long as the hearer was willing to interpret the message in good faith, the message would have the same "meaning" for the receiver as for the sender. It was recognized that "noise" might interfere with this process. Noise might consist of attitudes, emotions, values, prejudices and deliberate distortion either willed by the receiver or part of his psychological or physiological make-up. The affective and emotional processes were manifest in "nonverbal" communication and codified as non-discursive signals. Emotional behavior was seen as something

²⁰Dell Hymes, *The Anthropology of Communication*, in *Dance*, op. cit., p. 3.

to be reduced whenever possible -- on the premise that it belonged to man's primary (and less respectable) evolutionary state and that it interfered with the "real meaning" of the message.

Miller has said:

I have the impression that some communication theories regard the human link in communication systems in much the same way they regard random noise. Both are unfortunate disturbances in an otherwise well-behaved system and both should be reduced until they do as little harm as possible.²¹

To assume that the "meaning" of a message is in the words has long been discredited, but behavior-oriented research and language philosophy often focuses entirely on "words" without making quite clear that words constitute an infra-system, one unit in a complex social act which is theoretically not separable into its moieties without distortion. In the training and evaluation of teachers, pedagogy has focused on the "words" as if they were synonymous with the significant part of teacher-learner interaction and both teachers and students appear to think if they have learned the words they "know the subject". But it is very questionable whether utterances can be made without emotional overtones or that a "subject" can be taught without including such concomitants as the attitudes and values of the teacher towards it. The unreal dichotomy of a taxonomy such as Bloom developed is an instance of this fallacy carried to extremes. The idea that at some times one teaches

²¹George A. Miller, The Psychology of Communication. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1967, p. 45.

"content" and at other times "interest" is patently absurd.²²

Thayer states:

There can no more be a distinct and separate theory of communication than there could be a distinct and separate theory of elimination Both are behaviors and must be seen in the context of their occurrence. To consider the mode of one's behavior apart from the fact of his behaving is to falsely dichotomize a simple phenomenon.²³

He suggests it is part of the disastrous mind-body dichotomy rooted in Aristotelean logic and Cartesian philosophy. It is probably the case that resistance to accepting the concept of total behavior as communicative not only stems from fear of being so open to public inspection but that it contravenes subconscious Christian mind-body dichotomies.

3.4 Semiotics -- patterned communication in all modalities²⁴

This writer believes that human communication is a multi-modal, social system not to be equated with the formula which adds

²²Bloom, et al. apparently did not trust either a student's word or their own (or teachers') assessment of a student's behavior. In Handbook II, p. 17, in relation to an interest in music they say: "We hesitate to trust the professed evidence that a student has developed such an interest, because we have difficulty in determining the difference between a natural or honest response and one that is made solely to please the teacher. . . ." Would not the non-locutionary behaviors reveal his interest? Surely we do know whether or not a student is interested.

²³Thayer, op. cit., p. 221.

²⁴The term semiotics, derived from Pierce's term "semiotic" was suggested at the end of the important conference on Paralinguistics and Kinesics in 1962. The term was to signify a field covering "patterned communication in all modalities". See Sebeok, op. cit., p. 5.

up to the total of all the sub-systems but a gestalt or mosaic, the "meaning" being part of the pattern as a whole. Locutions are one part, not always more important, not central and not more capable of "standing alone" than any other parts of the system. All modalities have shapes and logic of their own and their presence or absence is part of the interaction as a whole. Any locution was created in a specific situation complete with a specific "other" whose total known characteristics, or whose assumed characteristics influenced the creation of the total communicative act. An utterance that is unsuited to the situation as a whole is taken as a symptom that something is wrong with the utterance and that it is not to be accepted at "face value". If A speaks to his wife as though she were a two-year-old child, or to his child in church as if they were out in a motor boat, one suspects he has emotional problems. The "meaning" of the utterance, that is how it is to be interpreted is drastically revised.

Cherry has made a similar point in saying:

The human senses (above all, that of hearing) do not possess one set of constant parameters, to be measured independently, one at a time. It is questionable whether the various "senses" are to be regarded as separate independent detectors. The human organism is one integrated whole, stimulated into response by physical signals, it is not to be thought of as a box carrying various independent pairs of terminals labelled "ear", "eyes", "nose", et cetera.²⁵

²⁵Colin Cherry, On Human Communication. Cambridge, Mass.: The M.I.J. Press, 1957, 1966, pp. 127-128.

In fact, one might ask what a locution would be like which appeared without the multi-modalities of the context of its utterance. No time and place, no body, no clothes, no clues as to identity, no voice or body movement. If such a thing existed, what meaning could it have? Would it be like the voice of the ghost of Hamlet's father? Any actor knows that he endows the ghost with a personality by the inescapable dimension of his own voice quality, pitch, stress, accent and modulations. The traditional flat equally-stressed monotone supplies characterization in the act of trying to exclude it. Can one properly be said to talk with a person without being conscious of the time and place, who the other is in relation to himself, what they know about each other, how each thinks the other values, or does not value, him as a person? Such a conversation would be a monologue, yet even then one knows oneself as "the other". Pittenger reiterates:

No matter what else human beings may be communicating about, or may think they are communicating about, they are always communicating about themselves, about one another, and about the immediate context of the communication.²⁶

Every individual needs constant social and emotional support. Each needs acceptance in the social milieu and seeks positive reinforcing behavior in the eyes, body language, touch and vocal modalities of the other. This fundamental need is equally as pressing in its

²⁶Pittenger, et al., op. cit., p. 231.

demands as (perhaps even more so) than the need for more conventional nourishment. Adler, for example, stressed that man searched for experiences that would fulfil his self-concept and that he is motivated by his expectations for the future. Man's questing, testing paralocutionary behaviors are frequently to be understood with reference to this idea. The expressive statements he makes about himself in life style, gait, clothing and choice of environment, for example, may be seen as intended to impress; to impress himself as much as to impress others. His testing behaviors with eye contact, physical proximity, voice qualities and body movement signal advance and retreat. They can be explained as oriented towards obtaining messages about how he is "doing" in the eyes of "the other" and how "the other" might cooperate in furthering his personal, psychological and social goals.

A characteristic of face-to-face non-linguistic behavior which is different from locutions in general is that of its immediacy. Locutions can refer to the future or the past, to things and situations that are remote or imaginary, but behavioral concomitants of face-to-face speech belong to the immediate present.

In view of these considerations, it would be better to avoid the terms verbal and nonverbal and adopt the term semiotics for the study of patterned communication in all modalities.

CHAPTER FOUR

EXPECTANCY MODIFIERS

It is the premise of this study that the linguistic component of an interaction is always accompanied by concomitant codes which are part of the communication as a whole and are inseparable from it. The task must now be to identify the codes which have communicative significance. It will become apparent that these phenomena function in several distinct ways. As "givens" they function to structure the communicative behaviors, but in so far as they are manipulatable they can be used intentionally for message carrying. In addition they may function as codes received and interpreted sub-consciously or unconsciously, from which significance can be derived by others. In each case it is well to remember that 'meanings' are shared, that the behavior of the speaker is not lost upon himself because he is his own listener. In fact many puzzling details of communicative behavior are clarified if one bears in mind that messages are often arranged more for self satisfaction than for the edification of the other.

4.1 Behavior Setting

People talking together must always be in a context. This context can be called the behavior setting and its importance is increasingly recognized as a controlling factor on the linguistic behaviors which can take place there. Behavior settings are said to be "coercive" primarily because "there exist shared frames of reference of collective intention as to what is appropriate behavior

in a given setting".¹ In the process of socialization in becoming a member of a culture and identifying with a sub-culture each person learns the behaviors expected in a given frame of reference. No interaction takes place in a vacuum but as part of the on-going culture and the on-going process of each participant's life pattern. In an elevator people exchange greetings, quick snippets of information, or banter; but do not normally exchange confidences or decide policy. In a boardroom they are expected to settle down to business and in a church to refrain from talking loudly together. Noticeable deviations from accepted practices immediately provide "new information". Conformity to the expected behavior implies that the individual understands and accepts the cultural pattern: variations convey new information.

When participants meet, they may be unacquainted but "they can assume from past experiences that only individuals of a particular kind are likely to be found in a given social setting".² If they are already acquainted they will make inferences as to the predicted intentions, interests and mood of the other from knowledge of the setting.

At first glance each participant takes in a vast amount of

¹Dean Barnlund, "The Social Context of Communication", in Interpersonal Communication. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1968, p. 153.

²Goffman, Presentation of Self in Everyday Life, op. cit., p. 1.

information about the other. Inferences about such facts as age, sex, race, socio-economic status, occupation, the role being carried out, subordinate-superordinate relationship to each other and previous knowledge of the other's personal biography may be made. Immediately mutual definition of the relationship takes place. The combined effect of these factors contributes to the decision as to whether a "state of talk" exists. Presuming that it does, it will rest on a base line derived from all the combined factors of the behavior setting. It will develop dynamically as a function of each new message exchanged. Every message exchanged either reinforces the definition of the original relationship or modifies it. Some factors will remain constant throughout an interaction such as room type and arrangement, physique, dress, and "props", such as a man's pipe, tennis racket, brief case or tool kit. Other factors will change, such as body posture, spatial distance between participants, body tension and facial expression. The communicative significance of the former maintain their constant effect as one level of code system, and maybe called the constant codes concomitant with the interaction incident, the later maybe called the dynamic codes.

In so far as they are within the power of a participant to provide and arrange at his discretion, the constant codes together with their organization and maintenance, act as "sign vehicles". They are perceived as reflecting the value system, status and aspirations of the owner. Furnishings and the like are manifestations

of one, or a series, of related subcodes within a culture. This phenomenon is reflected in the song of the entertainers, Michael Flanders and Donald Swann:

"Have you a home that cries out to your every visitor

Here lives someone who is exciting to know?"

The next word is "No?", and it indicates well enough the variation in the communicative value of a home and its contents, a variation well worth study".³ Similarly the "sign vehicles" of a classroom may be perceived as one type of extralinguistic sign-set against which locutions in the classroom are perceived. There will normally be a measure of consonance between these two variables. Dissonance created by incongruities again provides new information. An explanation or rationalization will normally be sought to dispel the tension of the dissonance. For example, a man who appears to be elegant and well-to-do in an extremely shabby tenement room, or a mousy hesitant teacher surrounded by classroom displays exhibiting noticeable imagination and vibrance requires the perceiver to make up a suitable story or ask some questions.

Within the behavior setting the participants are located in both time and space. Their management of both time and space is learned, together with the symbolic significance of temporal and spatial patterns.

³Dell Hymes, "The Anthropology of Communication", in *Dance*, op. cit., p. 19.

Territoriality is the term used to describe the use and defense of personal space. Hall says "In growing up people learn literally thousands of spatial cues, all of which have their own meaning in their own context".⁴ Role and status are often defined by spatial codes. A large office, a large house, a large bedroom are associated with high status or role. As the fortunes of an individual or a family fluctuate their personal space will correspondingly change.

Arrangement of furniture or the organization of zones in an office or a house define and re-inforce social roles. As Winston Churchill said about architecture "We shape our buildings and they shape us".⁵ There is the traditional large desk for the executive, the special chair for father and the teacher's desk. The throne of the Queen, and the dais, on which the top table for the club's officers, are placed is traditionally higher. In Samoa the status of a Matar ("chief") is expressed by the height of the platform of lava boulders on which his fale is built and in North American high rise apartment buildings the penthouse suite is the most expensive and carries the most status. Traditionally the teacher had a high chair with a large area of space jealously guarded as his or her territory. No matter how crowded the childrens' desks had to be this territory

⁴Edward T. Hall, The Silent Language. New York: Doubleday, 1959, p. 149.

⁵Edward T. Hall, The Hidden Dimension. New York: Doubleday, 1969, p. 106.

was inviolate. It was symbolically apart and higher. A change in some educational concepts has led to some modification of this pattern so that the teacher now has a low chair and less personal space. The claiming and defense of territory is part of man's evolutionary heritage shared with other animals, a basic need for sufficient territory on which to live and reproduce.⁶

This theory is the central theme of Ardrey's "The Territorial Imperative". Ardrey believes man is a territorial species and shares this characteristic with other animal species. He says: "The disposition to possess a territory is innate. The command to defend it is likewise innate. But its position and borders will be learned. And if one shares it with a mate or a group, one learns likewise whom to tolerate, whom to expel".⁷ Later Ardrey states: "An innate compulsion to defend one's property lies, of course, at the heart of the territorial principle; but just as close to its heart lies recognition of the rights of the next animal".⁸

4.2 Space

The study of the communicative significance of personal space has been christened by Hall proxemics. In contrast to territory,

⁶Hall's survey of overcrowding in animal populations sheds some light on the aggressive behaviors in large cities and has relevance to some possible problems in communal living. See Hall, The Hidden Dimension. New York: Doubleday, 1969, p. 39.

⁷Robert Ardrey, The Territorial Imperative, New York: Atheneum, 1966, p. 24.

⁸Ibid., p. 249.

personal space is an attribute of the person. Hall distinguishes among three types of spatial organizations; fixed feature, semi-fixed feature and informal space.⁹ Informal space refers to the distance maintained in encounters with others. Another writer suggests personal distance to designate the area in which the majority of his interactions with others takes place.¹⁰

Hall says misunderstandings are all the more serious because sophisticated Americans and Europeans take pride in correctly interpreting each other's behavior. "Cultural differences which are out of awareness are, as a consequence, usually chalked up to ineptness, lavishness, or lack of interest on the part of the other person".¹¹ Hall contrasts the attitude and perception of space between different cultures. According to European standards Americans "use space in a wasteful way and seldom plan adequately for public needs".¹² He gives the example of being considered an intruder by a German because he could see into the German's studio, while to an American intrusion begins only when one has physically entered the room. Germans, he says, "sense their own space as an

⁹Edward T. Hall, The Hidden Dimension, op. cit., pp. 97-122.

¹⁰K. B. Little, Personal Space, Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 1965, p. 237.

¹¹Edward T. Hall, The Hidden Dimension, op. cit., p. 131.

¹²Ibid., p. 132.

extension of the ego". Germans need a private space of their own and will defend this against intrusion where Americans might pool space to make more "efficient" use of it. In Europe yards are fenced, however small, but in the Western world front yards are usually open and unfenced. Hall contrasts English, French, Japanese and Arabic use of space (and time) showing deep cultural differences which each type of person tends to think is the "material" and right way. These findings have great significance for a country like Canada where the population consists of many races. A person (a teacher maybe) may be quite unaware that he takes a dislike to another simply because the other comes too near, or stays too far away. He maybe unaware that in forcing a child to sit close to another he offends the child's cultural proxemic code. He may dislike a child who seems distant and "cool", not realizing that the child is conforming to the good manners of his own spatial code.

These findings have relevance to placement of students' desks in the classroom. Equidistant rows do not fit a range of spatial preferences. Permission to move desks might avoid spatial phobia for some children and a feeling of isolation for others.

In contrast to territory which often reflects role and status, the dynamic use of personal space often constitutes a code reflecting "how people are feeling toward each other" and within a single interaction episode this spatial component may change more than once. Moreover, it may be used intentionally or out-of-awareness or in

both ways. In common with other communicative codes it is not valid to ascribe fixed meaning to any specific spatial pattern since it is used as part of a total situation and can only be interpreted in light of all the variables together. Hall divides spatial patterns into four categories: intimate, personal, social and public space. These were worked out with Trager by recording the distance when the voice of a speaker shifted into a noticeably louder volume. They worked out the distance between a whisper and a shout, then divided this into four classes. Hall's distance classification shows a parallel to Hediger's work with animals.¹³ Hall says his choice of terms was deliberately based on Hediger's work to indicate continuity between infraculture and culture and also "by a desire to provide a clue as to the type of activities and relationships associated with each distance, thereby linking them in people's minds with specific inventories of relationships and activities". He notes that "how people are feeling towards each other at the time, is a decisive factor in the distance used".¹⁴

If one thinks of the normal lecturer with raised voice speaking to thirty students at a distance of thirty feet, the spatial situation appears artificial and most unlikely to lead to satisfactory interaction. In the well-run contemporary classrooms the shift to

¹³H. Hediger, Studies of the Psychology and Behaviour of Captive Animals in Zoos and Circuses. London: Butterworth, 1955.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 114.

a conversational level-of-voice and to social distance reflects a healthy understanding of the importance of these dimensions of communication. It is to be encouraged.

W. H. Auden has focussed on the personal bubble around each individual in the lines:

"Some thirty inches from my nose
The frontier of my Person goes
And all the untilled air between
Is private pagus or demesne".

When two people meet and talk they are located in both time and space. Their position vis a vis each other, and as a unit vis a vis others, and in relation to the environment is part of a learned pattern of interaction. In dealing with space the orientation of the body parts is a variable which should be kept separate from relative position of the bodies as a whole, but studies have tended not to be able to maintain a realistic design while separating distance variables from orientation variables.¹⁵ The orientation of the body parts will be dealt with in a later section of this paper under the heading of kinesics.

The term "individual distance" or "nearest neighbour" was first used to refer to the spacing that animals maintain between themselves and others of the same species,¹⁶ but later Hall developed

¹⁵See the discussion by Robert Sommer in "Small Group Ecology". Psychological Bulletin, 1967, Vol. 67, No. 2, p. 150.

¹⁶Sommer, Ibid., p. 148.

his detailed scheme for conversations under various conditions of social and psychological closeness which ranged from six inches to one hundred feet. If one person wishes to increase the degree of friendship he will move nearer - perhaps testing the other's reaction. Here the cognitive conversation may have nothing to do with the emotional conversation, it is a ritual performance while space is being used as a significant symbolic medium of communication. The spatial code is an analogic symbol system or language. However Hall points out that the conventions related to the use of distance are different for different cultures, misunderstandings often arise, as when a person of another culture is perceived as hostile because he stands further away than expected or as aggressive if he stands too close.

Sommer carried out studies related to positions of pairs in conversation, in leadership roles, and in discussion groups. He finds that more conversation takes place between people sitting opposite to each other and at a preferred distance of 5.5 feet, and that too close proximity invariably raises tension levels and causes uneasiness.¹⁷ Sommer has also conducted studies on spatial invasion showing how jealously guarded is the personal space around each individual. He has recommendations related to the physical organizations of libraries and reading rooms to discourage interaction

¹⁷Sommer, Ibid., pp. 148-149.

(sociofugal space) as well as recommendations regarding physical organization in classrooms and seminar rooms to encourage interaction.

A library which is intended to be sociofugal space aimed at discouraging interaction would be arranged to minimize unwanted contacts. Thus straight rows and long tables could be used. But in a classroom or seminar room round tables and open space or a horse-shoe arrangement will promote interaction. Sommer quotes Madame Montessori writing about the classroom itself:

"The child is expected to sit on a hard seat, not to move, scrape his feet, or gaze out the window . . . to listen, to answer questions by raising his hand, to draw neat lines in a book and write or scriptprint on a single blue line in exactly the same way as all his peers. He may be permitted to ask questions but, for the most part he is expected to conform. The teacher teaches, the child listens. He soon appreciates the advantages of conformity.¹⁸

This horrifying picture is still experienced in the majority of our schools and universities although recognized for many years as highly disfunctional and certain to impede communication. Persons invested with the responsibility of planning new buildings should be recommended to study at least the chapter "Designed for Learning"¹⁹ as a preparation for their recommendations.

¹⁸Robert Sommer, Personal Space. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1969, pp. 98-99.

¹⁹Sommer, op. cit., p. 98.

Teachers in training should also be required to read Hall's two books "The Hidden Dimension" and "The Silent Language" to become aware of the messages they are sending and receiving at all times by way of these spatial codes. This might be considered especially necessary in Canada, where children come from a wide variety of culturally different homes. The variation in their codes is likely to lead to significantly different "meanings" being attributed by the teacher to their use of interpersonal space.²⁰

4.3 Time

The management of time was recognized by Hall as a communicative code. "Time talks. It speaks more plainly than words. The message it conveys comes through loud and clear. Because it is manipulated less consciously it is subject to less distortion than the spoken language. It can shout the truth where words lie".²¹

If two people have arranged to meet and both arrive within five minutes or so of the appointed time in North America no apology would be expected or needed according to Hall. He believes five minutes is the smallest division of social time whereas fifteen minutes was the smallest unit twenty years ago. In the North American and Northern European cultures time is a serious matter with a narrow

²⁰ Another useful tool for stimulating awareness is Margaret Mead's film "The Four Families" which can be usefully viewed from this perspective especially as one family is located in the Canadian Prairies.

²¹ Hall, "The Silent Language" op cit., p. 15. It is interesting to note that Hall worked at Buffalo with George Trager and Henry Lee Smith. These men first developed the area of paralinguistics.

range of variations permissible in its use in any specific situation.

Hall shows how natives of the South Pacific having made a decision in the middle of the night went to tell their American supervisor their decision immediately. He supposed he had a riot on his hands and called out the Marines; he did not understand South Pacific conventions related to time nor did they understand his. He states that North Americans conduct important business at carefully kept appointments in the working day. These appointments may be made a week or more in advance. This is very different from people in the Middle East with whom it is pointless to make an appointment too far in advance since everything beyond a week is part of "a single category of future, in which plans tend to 'slip off their minds'".²² Hall also mentioned the time schemes of the Pueblo Indians who wait until the time is "ripe" and of the Navajo Indians to whom the future lacks reality and only the present means anything.

The social use of time is conventional and learned. Conventions change over the years and are completely arbitrary but those people living in a geographic area are expected to know the complex system of codes of each subculture governing the formal use of time over a wide range of activities. Children in white middle class culture are taught conventions of time and, contrary to other types of communicative codes, a native could give rules for time conventions and the assumptions likely to be made if the rules were disregarded.

²²E. Hall, The Silent Language, op. cit., pp. 17-23.

Hall divides people into two categories. Those who arrive ahead of time or almost on the dot are called, the "displaced point" people. They are likely to see others who are early or late as un-business like, sloppy and having poor organizational morale. They may be suspicious of the other's ability to carry out a responsible assignment. Civil servants and clerical staff fall into the "displaced point" category. A contrasting type is the "diffused point" people who may be early or late but in either case are not very conscious of chronological time. They are likely to resist the demands of government organizations to get them to conform to time schedules and find the "displaced point" people rigid and ridiculous.

Those people who like to do one thing "at a time" Hall calls monochronic compared with those who like to do several things at once, like jugglers, whom he calls polychronic. They like to be involved with people. This is likely to upset monochronic people who do not easily tolerate what they think is confusion and find closeness unpleasant.²³

If we consider only these very broad categories, it is apparent that the original statement that "the message comes through loud and clear" and that "it can shout the truth where words lie" cannot be upheld in all circumstances. What is the truth if two people use time differently? It is true inferences may be drawn from these behaviors but the only inference which could logically follow

²³Hall, The Hidden Dimension, op. cit., p. 173.

is that other people use time differently. Unfortunately, inferences related to credibility, intelligence and moral worth are constantly made on a different use of time, which is interpreted as highly significant morally. Misunderstanding is just as likely as 'truth'.

Tolerance with the time schemes of others appears difficult to master, because the many years of training while growing up have resulted in deeply etched personal codes. Strong emotional reactions follow from conflicts in values and beliefs related to time.

The amount of time spent in various tasks is taken as reflecting his value system. A person who spends much time at his work is presumed to be interested in it or ambitious. A student who spends much time in studying is assumed to be interested or ambitious. It appears incongruous to profess to be interested in work yet spend most of one's time playing golf. The state of dissonance is likely to be resolved by believing that golf is more important than work. (Money as a communicative agent can be seen to operate in a similar way.) The amount of time a person is willing to give to another is seen as reflecting commitment to his welfare. It may also be a desire to please. Where time has to be shared, the person who is accommodated is perceived as of greater importance. In this way the message is clear. In schools the day is divided into class periods for administrative convenience. These divisions must be rigidly observed although they do not correspond to the need of the learner or the teacher. Few adults or students welcome being forced to move

to a different room and a different task arbitrarily.

Incongruities in message also arise if a teacher (or parent) professes interest in students (or his own children) but keeps them waiting for an appointment without a suitable apology, leaves too little time for their needs or is unwilling to spare time to help them. The message of time is usually the one to be believed and the other persons are usually correct in deciding any ambiguity in this way. Time does talk - and clearly. Both teachers and parents must be aware of its communicative significance.

CHAPTER FIVE

PERSONAL PRESENTATION CODES

5.1 First Impression

When two persons become aware of each other, a unit of interaction can be said to begin. This juncture is artificial since there is no break in the stream of behaviour. Each has personal histories which may or may not be known to the other but nevertheless contribute, in more or less degree, to the meaning of the interaction as a whole. When the unit of interaction begins many things happen simultaneously. A network of sensory cues forms the gestalt of "first impressions". Goffman calls the first scanning "unfocussed interaction", in which the participants check up on each other's clothing, artifacts, posture and general manner and make decisions as to whether or not to continue the interaction. I have been noting the assumptions made in everyday situations as I see a stranger passing in a car. Only the head and part of the arms and trunk are visible, together with the car, and possibly other passengers or objects; the time span is about two seconds, yet it is easy to recall type of face, hair, sex, age, clothing, physique, facial expression, type of car and then to make inferences about race, attitudes, socio-economic income and personality. The signal cues are organized into logical wholes, on which value judgments are immediately made which would affect a verbal message if it were received. Empirical studies support this everyday experience. Studies of first impressions and others showed they were formed very rapidly and that they were remarkably accurate as

predictors of future compatibility.¹

The first impression is therefore one of the significant factors on which a decision is made to continue to the next step of "focussed" interaction. For good or ill, value judgments are made on the basis of this gestalt. The skin color, hair, facial lines, posture and clothing are the only visual cues but inferences related to the whole personality appear to be made simultaneously. Gaps in visible cues tend to be filled in (in accordance with the principle of closure) but these are filled in by adding no new "information", only details which would be part of the stereotype. A few empirical studies suggest that some types of judgments made on the basis of clothes alone can be reasonably accurate. Occupation, socio-economic level, sub-culture, efficiency or aggressiveness, and some estimate of self-concept have been found to be perceived by others with relative accuracy.² The significant factor leading to a realistic assessment seems to be the closeness of frames of reference. If the "other" has similar past experiences, rating will be more accurate. A student gets a more accurate impression of another student than of older people, a person of high socio-economic level is more accurately judged by peers than by a person of low socio-economic level.

¹A. Lehtovaara, First Impressions, *Studia Psychol. Paedagog.* Lund Z, 1948, 123-152. Quoted in Clothing: A Study in Human Behaviour, Mary S. Ryan, N. Holt Rinehart, 1966, p. 11. See this and following pages for other studies.

²Studies quoted in Ryan (pasim), Ibid., pp. 8-39 and Barnlund, op. cit., p. 519.

5.2 Dress

That dress and personal effects are very powerful communicative devices cannot be too strongly stated. Principally, because, like mountains, they are there, they cannot be ignored. Whether intentional or not they provide cues from which others make judgments, not only of the clothes themselves, but of the past experiences, attitudes and values, and predicted future behavior of the other. Dress, grooming and accessories make statements -- the judge's robes, the teacher's Italian knit wool suit, the student's sports shirt are statements both as to rank and the immediate intentions of the wearer. They tend to structure the immediate behavior of both participants in an interaction. It is interesting that linguists often raise the analogy of dress (formal gown, sports attire, overalls, etc.) in discussing varieties of usage "appropriate to the situation". Choice of dress serves many functions. It can be used to relieve anxiety by conforming to group norms, or to show creativity by using imagination to create acceptable variations, or rebellion by exhibiting audacious variations. The concept of "information" being provided by the unexpected is particularly relevant again here. The code of dress functions as a slogan, packaging a great deal of information (in the normal sense) in a form which is easily accessible and available for use to structure the communicative interaction.

Dress acts as a sign vehicle providing bond signals between members of sub-groups. The degree of conformity to the fad of the moment (established by the leaders) is perceived as signifying the

measure of loyalty to the group. To wear a black leather jacket if you are not in agreement with the goals and values of the black-leather-jacket set is to risk being misunderstood; and not to wear one if one is a member of that set is to risk reprisals.

Goffman's work provides insight into the subtleties of expressive communication provided by clothing and symbolic objects. Dress, in Goffman's terms, can be an expression a person "gives" or an expression he "gives off". As used deliberately in accordance with conventions, recognized as mutual, dress is an expression he "gives", but when perceived by others as unintentional it is the expression he "gives off". As Goffman points out, since this type of expressive behavior is not supposed to be premediated it can be manipulated to plant clues from which others will draw the hoped for inferences. The deliberate choice of clothing and accessories perceived as typical of a sub-group one aspires to join signals a request for acceptance into the group. However in Goffman's words:

The others of course may sense that the individual is manipulating the presumably spontaneous aspects of his behaviour, and seek in this very act of manipulation some shades of conduct that the individual has not managed to control. This again provides a check upon the individual's behaviour, this time his presumably uncalculated behaviour, thus re-establishing the asymmetry of the communication process. Here I would like only to add the suggestion that the acts of piercing an individual's effort at calculated unintentionality seem better developed than our capacity to manipulate our own behaviour, that regardless of how many steps have occurred in the information game, the witness is likely to have the advantage over the actor.³

³Erving Goffman, op. cit., pp. 8-9.

The reader of this study may be prepared later to agree with the writer that it is not so much the act of piercing the calculated front that is outstanding but the extraordinary number of variables that need to be congruent to create a congruent whole. As any social climber, gentleman burglar or pseudo-lady can testify, it takes not only great skill but desperately hard work and concentration to manipulate sufficient variables to maintain a false impression successfully.⁴ The incidence of dissonance as one or two of the bits of the pattern "strike a false note" will be high and credibility soon lost. Higgins⁵ did well for Eliza with clothes, posture, accent and mannerisms but could not control every word of her tea-time conversation; so a perfect example of dissonance shattered the illusion. (Higgins' exhausting months of work with Eliza could provide a primer of nonlinguistic social communicative behavior.)

Dress not only makes statements expressing the self-concept and the ideal self but exerts its own influence on the attitudes and behaviors of the wearer. Conscious of looking well-dressed, the wearer is encouraged to move with poise, to look at "the other" confidently and to assume the mannerisms of the self-confident person. If successful, he is reinforced by the approving behavior of "the other", by friendship, or respect shown in eye contact, and smiles.

⁴For references to successful deceptions see Ryan, op. cit., pp. 31-45.

⁵Bernard Shaw, "Pygmalion" in The Complete Plays of Bernard Shaw. London: Constable Co. Ltd., 1931, pp. 716-757.

Conversely a person who is dissatisfied with his appearance avoids the eye of "the other", expresses a lack of confidence by body behavior and is rewarded by being ignored -- thus fulfilling the self-deprecating cycle.

Dress and accessories form a significant symbol affecting both participants in any interaction.

The ritual significance of clothing is a part of man's most primitive behavior, but its strength continues to be coercive. There are special clothes for sex identification, for age variation, for ministers, janitors, hippies, golf, dancing and church going. Rebels against conventions find themselves trapped in further conforming patterns, misunderstood or made intolerably uncomfortable. Just as a sentence is a system of conventionally agreed upon linguistic symbols, so the symbolic code of dress is maintained as a type of shorthand, for the vast amount of information which it represents.

Along with clothing grooming is seen as communicative. Ill-kept nails, unshined shoes, unwashed hair and missing buttons may result in negative judgments about intelligence or competence although there is no necessary correlation between the factors.

5.3 Props

In addition to those 'sign-vehicles' which form part of the dress, objects carried or used form a constant part of the context. Some occupations are easily identified, the janitor's mop, the electrician's harness of tools, the student's armful of books, the executive's brief case. These become part of the status symbols

molding the conversation by their presence. Props may be chosen deliberately to round out the image presented as part of the "front". Modish sunglasses, a pipe, a walking stick, an extra large handbag or noticeable earrings are symbols reinforcing the desired image or mask. Changes in these sign-vehicles denote changes in roles and signal the way others should respond. A woman in hair curlers might think she were being insulted if paid excessive deference under such circumstances, but would be complimented when freshly coiffed and wearing a cocktail dress.

Throughout his work Goffman makes a good deal of the "props" used by performers in support of their roles. These props may function as significant factors contributing to the first impression which may be so powerful that it tends to determine subsequent responses indefinitely.

At the present time (1970) the length of a person's hair may be a criterion for certain kinds of work although hair length may have little or nothing to do with the work involved. A song about a boy appearing in court sung by Johnny Cash sums it up succinctly,

"And it didn't really matter if the truth was there
It was the cut of his clothes and the length of his hair".

To complete the aspects of communicative symbols one must include what Ruesch might include in his category of object signs or artifacts. A man may choose to smoke a pipe, expensive cigarettes, cigars, or roll his own. Denis Norden reports the embarrassment of other people because he made his own cigarettes -- a typical behavior

of a different class. Friends pressed their own cigarettes and cigars on him to relieve their anxiety.⁶ On formal occasions it would possibly be considered an insult to the host of the occasion to make one's own cigarettes. The management of smoke, disposition of ashes, amount of cigarette smoked, the lighting of another's cigarette, the way cigarettes are held, waved around, nibbled and finally stubbed out are part of a person's communicative repertoire. Subtle differences are correlated to social class, or to sub-cultures, and serve as consolidating or decisive symbols between interaction participants.

The listing of all communicative symbols would be tedious; almost any object can be invested with symbolic significance. The brown paper bag lunch, the brief case, short white gloves, the shopping bag, the Timex watch, the nurse's watch, the pilot's watch, the charm bracelet, the fraternity pin, the wedding and engagement rings, the cross on a necklace, the Indian head band, love beads and the four beaten silver rings on the hand of the young man in the bookshop. It is true these symbols have no grammar, but they are freely created codes worn to make statements for the identification of the self and for others to perceive and understand. Each may be trite or a gesture of genius, or anywhere in between. In this way they are susceptible to Shannon's theory of information in that the degree of "surprise" or unexpectedness is the measure of "information".

⁶CBC radio personality and writer, Sunday Supplement, July, 1970.

It may be repetitive to state again that all these responses to communicative symbols are learned, the symbolic significance of objects depends on mutually understood codification. New behaviors are mimicked from behaviors of ideal types or created by social leaders. Their survival depends on the response of other since unrewarded innovations are soon abandoned. The widespread use of mass media, especially visual mass media such as magazines and television, means that innovative visual symbols such as dress and room arrangements can be rapidly disseminated, copied, distributed and generalized. They then lose their symbolic function as group identification for the avant-garde thus coercing social leaders to invent fresh symbols.

5.4 The Body

In meeting with another, the size and shape of the other's body will be registered as part of the image as a whole. Inferences as to personality and attitudes learned as part of the myths learned in the socialization process will affect the interpretation of some, but not necessarily all, locutions. The notion that physical characteristics are an integral part of "the meaning" of words is implicit in the case narrations or reports which often begin with a description of body, sex, age and some significant detail which the writer chooses as a symbol of personality. The listener or reader is expected to complete the stereotype for himself by rounding out the character with a complex but integrated complement of bodily characteristics and personality traits. Very few words are needed to convey the necessary cues for example, in five operative words

one says: "She was a tall, blond girl with a marvellous figure" or "He was a tired old man with a hunched back". It would be odd to hear an anecdote about people with no indication of the physical properties of those who were involved. In face to face interaction the body is always involved and playing a part. Conversations with no clues as to the bodies of the speakers, (in limbo as it were) have been attempted in avant-garde literature and films but the characters always acquire a body in our minds, to suit their voice and personality. A central idea of this paper is that the use of spoken language necessarily involves other human dimensions because that is how language works. It is the apex of the evolutionary pile, however, nature has not kicked the steps away but retained them in full working order as a necessary foundation for the apex. At every point educators should be fully aware of these inescapable dimensions; while the body is present it exerts an influence and must be reckoned with.

5.5 Physique

Recent empirical work appears to support theories from the distant past. Hippocrates' correlation of body types and their characteristic 'humors' are "highly congruent with the current emphasis upon the endocrine secretions as determinants of behavior".⁷ More recently, many writers have worked out classification schemes. Ernst Kretshner, a German psychiatrist, is considered the founder of

⁷Calvin S. Hall and Gardner Lindzey, Theories of Personality. New York: John Wiley, 1957, 1970.

modern "constitutional psychology", his classification was adapted and simplified by Sheldon to three types of physique, the endomorph, a soft rounded type; the mesomorph, a hard rectangular muscular type and ectomorph, the long lean rather flat and fragile type. From many years of research a somatype rating can be assigned by a combination of measurements on three variables, the Ponderal Index (height/cube root of weight), the Trunk Index (ratio of upper torso-thoracic trunk to lower torso - abdominal trunk) and mature height. Further checking is done by checking against a standard set of photographs. Since these measurements depend largely on skeletal measurements the somatype remains constant whatever variations in weight or well-being develop with changes in age or nutrition. The theory that one can correlate personality with the somatype depends on the fact that there will be similarity of social responses, rewarded behaviors and self concept within each category. Different somatypes will be subject to a different set of social experiences. Combined with genetically controlled factors such as hormone levels and other body chemistry associated with the factors which result in the difference in somatype it is easy to see how correlations might develop. Sheldon worked over a period of five years with male college students. Correlations between somatype temperament and personality were high. He found that the endomorph was high in love for comfort, food, people and affection. He was probably easy to get on with, relatively slow moving and tolerant of others. The mesomorph liked adventure and muscular activity, tended to be aggressive, noisy,

courageous and did not care over much about the feelings of others. The ectomorph was typified by restraint, inhibition, shyness, and lack of social skills. He was tense, reacted quickly and slept little.⁸ It may be admitted that at first meeting, expectations do generally follow these lines, but the impression may or may not be lasting. However, Birdwhistell states that a kinesiologist must be fully familiar with physiology and its implications for movement potential.⁹

Regardless of correlation with somatype, personality is probably influenced by each person's perception of his own body; especially in relation to its attractiveness to others. The attitudes of the family establish the basic self concept modified by the daily, extralinguistic responses of others. The effects of positive "glancing behavior" provide constant reassurance. Any noticeable physical variation from normal range will result in some adaptation in personality characteristics. In accordance with Leary's theory of behavior (including language behavior) favourable physical characteristics play a significant role in promoting social acceptance thus reducing anxiety and loneliness. In Goffman's terms appearance forms part of the 'front', the performer's working equipment.¹⁰

⁸Hall and Lindzey, op. cit., pp. 322-376

⁹Ray L. Birdwhistell, Introduction to Kinesics. Washington, D.C.: Foreign Service Institute, 1952.

¹⁰Goffman, op. cit., p. 24

The body as a shape or form is itself sufficient to indicate age and sex. As the body ages, gain in weight and the redistribution of body fat downwards result in a predictably different shape. The bust or chest becomes smaller and the abdomen and hips larger. The waist tends to disappear and the shoulders become rounded.¹¹ Perceived age, as other social factors, structures the messages exchanged. Assessments are made as to what response "a person of that age" is likely to give to messages.

5.6 Posture

Posture, as a constant state, is related to the tonus of muscles and skeletal shape. Habitual posture is affected by skeletal injuries, rheumatism, aging, and the kinds of physical activity. It may provide a silent history of past experiences to the sensitive observer. Posture, like other body characteristics, is a learned behavior, reflecting family and peer group patterns. Later in life it may be influenced by experiences such as military training or occupation.¹² A history of self-negation, poor self-concept or misfortune may be read in shuffling gait, stooping, head bent forward and lack of tension. Self-confidence is reflected in an optimum level of tension, neither overtense nor oversoft. Habitual posture will be modified in response to social expectations and the role

¹¹Ryan, op. cit., p. 308.

¹²Peter F. Ostwald, How the patient communicates about disease with the doctor. Sebeok (ed.), 1964, op. cit., pp. 11-34.

requirement of each specific situation. Respect is shown by increase in tension, pulling up the shoulders. Lack of respect or familiarity by relaxation or by slouching.

Scheflen says:

"In the course of research in psychotherapy my colleagues and I have turned up an unexpected finding: Configurations of posture or body positioning indicate at a glance a great deal about what is going on in an interaction".¹³

With respect to movements of the body, he says, posture is a reliable indicator of such aspects of communication as the contribution of an individual to group activities, how individuals relate to each other, the steps or order of an interaction, (that is, who is speaking, who wishes to speak next), the attitudes of each person to a specific other or to the group as a whole. Scheflen says:

"All English-speaking people (who also move 'in English') seem to utilize this postural information unconsciously for orienting themselves in a group. . .".¹⁴

It would seem that posture may refer to the habitual tension and habitual "set" of the body, a sort of base line from which movements are made and to which the body normally returns, or as a function of movement when the trunk, limbs and head are changing positions. The latter aspect of posture will be discussed under Kinesics in Chapter Six of this paper.

The habitual set of the body or base line posture appears to

¹³Albert E. Scheflen, "The Significance of Posture in Communication". Psychiatry, 1964, 27.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 316

be a reflection of attitude or orientation to the world. It is a rather rigid combination of muscle patterns learned during the impressionable years of childhood or youth. Less research is available in this regard than on posture as body movement. A paper by Mehrabian discusses the significance of posture and position in the communication of attitude and status relationships, but much of this article is devoted to spatial relationships. Mehrabian quotes the work of Ekman, who found that movements of the body are more likely to communicate specific emotions whereas postures and stationary facial expressions are more likely to communicate gross affect. They found that liking or disliking may conveniently be expressed by the body at times where circumstances do not allow overt expression of affect. Since many cultures disapprove of overt expressions of resentment and dislike, body position and facial set may be a convenient way to express these habitual attitudes.¹⁵

The posture of students in school may readily be perceived as an indication of their attitude to the teacher, the system or the work assigned. A sensitive observer believes he intuits the attitude of the students as he enters a school or classroom, but he is probably "reading" the message codes transmitted by posture, dress and body movement. It is the conscious awareness of the factors interwoven here that a good teacher needs and one of the reasons this paper has been written.

¹⁵Albert Mehrabian. "Significance of Posture and Position in the communication of Attitude on Status Relationship", Psychological Bulletin, 1969, Vol. 7, No. 5, pp. 359-372

5.7 Skin

"The enveloping skin is a kind of advertising billboard that broadcasts to the world what goes on under its surface".¹⁶ The notices on the billboard are of two kinds, constant or dynamic. Those which are constant include skin color of different races, (from very black to very white), skin type (leathery to ultra fine), amount of hair, (from thick and dark, to thin and blond or white), skin surface, (clear or with pimples, scratches, scars, pigmentation freckles, moles and wrinkles). Notices on the billboard which are subject to more rapid changes are such things as sunburn, goosepimples, blushing or pallor, mottling, cold sores and dark shadows under the eyes. Facial hair on women may be marked or absent; men may have smooth, freshly shaved skin, unshaven regrowth, moustaches, beards and sideburns. The hair on the head varies from missing to luxuriant, from straight to tightly curled, from fine to coarse, from dry to oily, and the coiffure from rigidly set to unkempt, from shaved to waist length.

Scanning the skin, the variations of all these factors are taken in at a glance. These "notices on the billboard" lead to inferences about life style, race, health, toxic states, immediate emotional feelings, and even clues as to interests such as time spent indoors or outdoors.

5.8 Face

The complex muscular system underlying the surface of the face

¹⁶Sebeok

is estimated to provide for a potential twenty thousand different facial expressions.¹⁷ Birdwhistell says each person learns "to wear" his face, as he does the rest of the body, in accordance with early experiences. That is, each feature has a range of potential from which each person selects a habitual position in accordance with his self concept or his ideal self. This accounts for the similarity of many adopted children to their parents. Babies are much alike, their potential range is great, but socialization is coercive.¹⁸ In the early years positive reinforcement of certain 'arrangements' of the face deepen these patterns, and discourage others. A child constantly tries out different expressions and by the time he is adolescent has a "look" of his own to which he himself responds as others do.

A great deal of research has been done on facial expressions, less on facial features. Conflicting evidence has led to the conclusion that results show more about the personality of the judges than the judged and that meaningful research designs are extremely difficult to continue. Especially revealing is recent research showing that situational and contextual cues altered judges impressions.¹⁹ In reporting many studies Barnlund says: "A setting would seem as

¹⁷R. Birdwhistell in Communication without Words. "Paris L'Adventure Humaine". Societe d'Etudes Littieres et Artistiques, 1964.

¹⁸R. Birdwhistell. Lecture at Simon Fraser University, Vancouver, 1968

¹⁹Barnlund, op.cit., p. 522. For report of studies which consisted mostly of half finished sentences found in recorded speech.

essential in the recognition of facial cues as a sentence in the interpretation of a word".

5.9 Odor

Since the receiving mechanisms of the nose (like those of the ears) are open at all times (in the healthy person) smells are constantly being received. Odor is one of the earliest forms of communication, a necessary and important part of the survival of most species. Man is still made aware of danger by the smell of burning, of illness by unusual personal odors, of other humans by the smell of domestic cooking, perfume or body odors, of human habits or breath smelling of alcohol, chewing gum, decaying dirty teeth, or strong foods such as garlic and onions. In the North American middle class cultural pressures tend towards the removal of personal odors and their suppression or replacement by means of deodorants, bathing, dental hygiene, perfumes and cosmetics. In a country with a mixed ethnic population, to be close enough for conversation often means to be assailed by odors different from those of one's own subculture. Poor housing combined with different standards of hygiene may result in accumulation of body odors. A frequently expressed prejudice against native Indian people is that they smell so strong. Teachers report difficulty in overcoming antipathy to students whose odor is objectionable and most people find themselves backing away from

²⁰Barnlund, op. cit., p. 522.

strong smells of any kind including perfumes. Margaret Mead says "In the United States nobody has been willing to smell another human being, if they could help it, for the last fifty years. We have covered everybody over with every possible kind of scent so that, . . . everybody smells like a drug store and nobody smells like a person. This was necessary, I think, because of the intolerance of different groups coming together and having to smell people who ate differently".²¹

Hall reports that bathing the other person in one's breath is a common practice in Arab countries, but that Americans (and British) are taught not to breathe on people. A teacher or social worker may have to make a considerable effort to remain within "personal space", close to the person with whom he is speaking in spite of odors. To move away would be to communicate rejection.

In relation to the stress of overcrowding Hall reports the harmful effects of odors of various secretions working directly on the body chemistry of other animals. Man has not a keen sense of smell, but as the olfactory centres are a primitive part of the brain, odors are directly concerned with the emotional life.²²

²¹T. A. Sebeok, Approaches to Semiotics, op. cit., p. 46 Teachers and social workers might not agree that everybody now smells like a drug store. (A senior professor, such as Margaret Mead, is likely to move in selected olfactory space.)

²²This is commercially recognized in the effort spent to put the smell of leather into plastic goods, or even into leather goods, the perfumes used in stores and the odoriferous compounds carefully added to many prepared foods.

The reports of Holmes in "The Nose" give the key to swellings and shrinkings of nasal mucous membranes under different emotional conditions. It is interesting to find that the "intuitive" recognition of love, hate, or sexual arousal from the face has empirical support from the changes in the nasal organs noted by Holmes.²³ These changes also affect the quality of the voice so that a good actor or dissembler must alter his voice to match the changes which would take place in the "real situation".

This type of information confirms again the hypothesis that the number of variables is so large (and largely unknown to the actor) that to fake communicative messages successfully is most difficult. The unsuccessful "faking" which often goes on in schools and families to replace authentic interaction (which is too painful to be tried) frequently fails and is replaced by uneasy suspicion on both sides.

The theory of surprise or variance as a measure of information is applicable overall the variables discussed. Information is derived from deviations from the range of the known or the expected. If all characteristics fall within normal limits for the time, the place, the culture and sub-culture, they will be assimilated into a gestalt already known. A stereotype will be matched, a congruent whole established from the available fragments. A pattern has been recognized

²³T. H. Holmes, "The Nose", quoted in Sebeok, op. cit., p. 46

but no new information has been gained. The interaction so far may be termed integrational in that it serves to maintain the ongoing culture as part of an ongoing institute or relationship.

But as Moles points out the perfectly average individual, that is, one having the set of most probable characteristics, is the rarest of individuals.²⁴ On this assumption each person or situation will have some 'interest' that is, a measureable quantity of information potential, since the combination of variables will be more or less unique. Intriguing persons are those with sufficient unexpected combinations of variables to provide the optimum information.

²⁴Abraham Moles, op. cit., p. 62.

CHAPTER SIX

PARALANGUAGE

Most communication is incredibly rich, closer to poetry than to mathematics.

Pittenger.¹

The two previous chapters of this paper were concerned with the variables or codes which, taken together, determine that a "state of talk"² is viable. The combined forces of the variables also determine what can or cannot be said at that time, the range of subject matter, the proper type of greeting or lack of greeting. They can also help to predict even the length of the interaction. These may be said to be the constraints exercised by the codes so far discussed. Constraints also include the role and status relationships between the participants, their emotional involvement, both overt and covert, and their goals, both manifest and latent. The close proximity of others or lack of others will also affect the interaction. Participants may draw together to avoid being overheard, may walk away before interchanging verbal language, adapt their voice, choice of words, posture and facial expression to "give off" (Goffman's term) a desired impression to bystanders.

¹Robert E. Pittenger, et al. The First Five Minutes. New York: Paul Martineau, 1960

²A "state of talk" is a phrase used by Goffman in a discussion at the Indiana Conference. Sebeok, op. cit., p. 139

Ritual greetings such as "How are you?" "Hello" are acognitive but show the state of the relationship. They also serve to give both interactants a few seconds of time to make decisions as to what the next step will be, while assessing the code messages available and the situation as a whole. When a person says "How are you?", he expects a ritual answer such as "fine" or "lousy". but not a long account of disasters or triumphs. The exchange of ritual greetings is designed only to reassure each participant that both are part of a specific culture and to fix the relationship existing at the moment. This part of the interaction is the integrational aspect of the interaction.

6.1 Extralinguistics

A survey of extralinguistic research (which includes linguistic variations such as dialect, extensive or restricted vocabulary, the use of simple or complex sentences, correctness of grammar, use of slang terms and other linguistic features, all of which contribute to the total system of communication) shows the very large body of work done by psychologists. Mahl and Schulge³ point out that a great deal of information, other than the intended or dictionary meaning, is gathered from the use of the linguistic code itself. Inferences as to socio-economic status, aspirations, region of upbringing, educational level, occupation and interests can be reliably made from choice of words, choice of topics, and sentence structure.

³George F. Mahl and Gene Schulge, "Psychological Research in the Extralinguistic Area", in *Approaches to Semiotics*, op. cit., p. 53. This article mentioned the work of other psychologists.

A person interested in skiing, for example, is likely to bring the subject into conversations and to use the appropriate terms; a person interested in music is likely to do the same. Adolescent girls are likely to talk about boys, and vice-versa. Interest or anxiety may be quantitatively studied.

Psychologists, psychotherapists and linguists have all been interested in hesitation phenomena as well as in the specific words chosen by a speaker.⁴ Hesitation phenomena include various types of pauses and other nonfluences such as stuttering and repetitions. Among hesitation parameters studied are length of pause, type of pause and location in the speech stream of the pause. Studies have been made of the use of silence and of phonations such as "um", "er" and "uh". These may indicate anxiety or thoughtfulness, evasion or lying. When studies are made combining the galvanometer with recorded speech, correlations between emotional tension, speech disturbance and hesitation phenomena can be examined. In problem-solving Livant found the time required for the solution of a problem was significantly greater when the subject filled the pauses than when he was silent. He concluded that "filled pauses produce impairment in performance".⁵

⁴Starkey Duncan, "Non-verbal Communication". Psychological Bulletin, Vol, 72, 1969, pp. 118-137.

⁵Ibid., p. 186.

Wiener and Mehrabian have been examining the communication from an interdisciplinary point of view in their work on choice of words related to affect. They assert we can judge an individual's feelings on the basis of his choice of words.⁶ On the basis of the way an idea is said one can judge how the speaker feels about the listener; how he feels about the topic, and how he feels about the interaction taking place. This affective dimension they have called "non-immediacy - immediacy". They distinguish six dimensions (at least) along which immediacy - non-immediacy can be expressed. These are labelled as active/passive, probability, order, distance, mutuality and temporality.⁷ David Abbey gives an example of a teacher greeting his class from this point of view. He shows that the class might well be antagonized by the transparent lack of affect shown by the teacher.⁸

This type of research should yield very valuable insights for educators and should be passed on to teachers by means of journal articles and inservice training as soon as communication educators can become familiar with it. I believe it is a challenging new direction for interdisciplinary research. The next part of the paper deals with the codes associated with the voice and with body movement while speaking.

⁶ Reported by David Abbey, Communications Studies. Group Northern Electric Laboratories. Ottawa: the Issue No. 6., November 1970.

⁷ M. Wiener and A. Mehrabian, Language within Language, Immediacy, a Channel in Verbal Communication. New York: Appleton-Centry-Crofts, 1968.

⁸ David Abbey, op. cit., p. 52

6.2 Vocal concomitants

The codes most closely associated with a vocal utterance were developed from the work of Sapir and his contemporary, Bloomfield.⁹ Sapir proposed five levels of speech behavior which he believed could be studied as indicative of personality. They were voice quality, voice dynamics (comprising intonation, rhythm, relative continuity of speech and speed of speech), pronunciation, vocabulary and style. He summarized his point of view thus; "It is always the variation that counts never the objective behaviour as such."¹⁰ He also recognized the importance of body movements as a learned, integral and necessary part of speech.

Development by the linguists Trager and Block,¹¹ and later Smith and Trager, led to the analysis of voice patterning, including tone of voice and voice quality. Intonation was studied first. Intonation comprises stress, pitch and juncture. Spoken English has four relative levels of stress, four relative pitch levels and three terminal junctures. These three types of variable form independent but interdependent systems called phonemes, the basic building blocks of intonation. Phonemes are sound types with no intrinsic meaning.

⁹For original work see Selected Workings of Edward Sapir. David G. Maudlebaun, (ed.). Berkeley: University of California Press, 1949, and Leonard Bloomfield, Language. New York: Henry Holt, 1933.

¹⁰See R. Birdwhistell in "Paralanguage, 25 years after Sapir", in Lectures in Experimental Psychiatry. Henry Brosin, (ed.), University of Pittsburgh Press, 1959.

¹¹Smith and Trager worked together from 1948 to 1953 at the Foreign Service Institute, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.

They enter into morphemes, recurring patterns, not necessarily whole words, which have grammatical significance. Intonation is a part of the linguistic pattern intrinsic in the language itself. It is learned with the language and does not vary according to the speakers intention, emotion or meaning.

Apart from this there are the variables which together make up the "tone of voice" which have now been extensively analysed as part of the study of paralinguistics. The main categories proposed by Trager¹² were:

- A. Voice Qualities: pitch, range, resonance, tempo,
articulation resonance and rhythm.
- B. Vocalizations:
 - 1. Vocal characterizers: laughing, crying, sighing,
yawning;
 - 2. Vocal qualifiers: intensity (overloudness or over-
softness), pitch, height, extent drawl or
clipping);
 - 3. Vocal segregates: uh,uh; hm, clicks, pauses and
silence.

These qualities are patterned and responded to within the first months of life. A baby responds first to paralanguage. He distinguishes mother from father, nurturance from anger, loudness and softness, enthusiasm from whining. These patterns are then built-in to the way

¹²George L. Trager, "Paralanguage, a First Approximation".
Stud. Linguist. 13 (1958), pp. 1-12.

he learns the words of the language. Each person has a unique combination of these variables making up his distinctive and easily recognizable voice. The uniqueness of the voice has been demonstrated by the use of voice prints, instead of finger prints, as a recognized form of unique identification.

The fact that it is voice patterning which is learned first, together with body movement and context, may be demonstrated. This writer has studied a small child who responds readily to such orders as "Play patacake", "Come here, Jane", "Come, sit on my knee", "Fetch the ball" and is thought to understand these words. But if the voice pattern is inappropriate, the body movement changed or the context unusual, the response will not be appropriate. The child does not know the words until much later, and as with adults, will be confused even when the words are well known if voice patterning or body movement is incongruent.

The primacy of paralinguage is hereby established and it does not disappear as lexical fluency develops. It is part of the way vocal speech is conducted. It is learned as part of the culture and becomes part of the personality. These qualities are noted by others and responded to as part of the total communicative behavior. The child also hears his own voice qualities and develops his self concept in relation to what he hears. Some people habitually sound tired, whiny, pleading, enthusiastic, or brisk, which means that the paralinguage is sufficiently different from "the average" that it is noticeable. An area of research still to be explored is the exact

measure of variation required to make a "just noticeable difference" to a listener.

Part of the differences between voices is associated with the basic timbre of the voice or voice set. This is said to be determined by the physiological structure of the body, the state of health, the position within the group, the sex, mood, state of sleepiness or wakefulness, toxic state (such as influence of drugs or alcohol), and distance from the person with whom one is speaking. Voice set is likely to be relatively constant throughout a conversation and the same characteristics will affect the words spoken as well as the para-language. Voice set recognizes the part played by the determinants mentioned above but voice qualities reflect the person's image of himself and his relation to the immediate or total environment. Thus a man who has not made the transition from boyhood to manhood may use a falsetto voice - so confirming his self image. The dependent person uses vocal qualities which make statements just as clearly as utterances that he or she must be taken care of by others. As Smith states:

The selection of voice qualities serves to communicate the image of the speaker has of himself as the culture gives him to see himself, and may also project an image quite far removed from reality. A little man may compensate, or overcompensate by cultivating a voice operating below the norm of his true pitch range and with increased level of intensity and a booming resonance. On the other hand, a six foot four male hypochondriac with an ordinary cold may squeeze his pitch range and decrease his level of intensity to what might be expected in a pre-adolescent female in order to impress his wife with the seriousness of condition. ¹³

¹³Henry Lee Smith, Jr., "Language and the Total System of Communication". State University of New York at Buffalo, 1966. Lecture series (mimeo) supplied by the author with permission to quote.

It is a change in voice qualities and voice set which is interpreted as a change in health, status, or self concept. This happens out of awareness but is fed back to the person himself, serving to confirm his self image and inform him of his mood.

In contrast to voice qualities, vocal characteristics are used at short intervals, although they may be repeated, to make a stretch of pattern. A nervous giggle, the "breaking of the voice", the "rasp" of hostility or temper are examples of vocal characterizers.

Voice qualifiers contribute to what is usually heard as "the tone of voice". Each person, and each culture and sub-culture, has a normal base line of the six variables classed as voice qualifiers: intensity, pitch, range, pitch intervals, tension. There is also a normal tempo for the sound partials within a single word, and for timing of sequential words. Most of these variables have three degrees of noticeable difference. A few examples will illustrate how these differences are interpreted in use. Increased loudness may signal alarm or annoyance, as may increased pitch. These may be used as alternates or together. Increased softness may signal displeasure or seductiveness; raised pitch is sometimes used when adults talk to infants or old people. Increased openness produces a sort of hollow boom typical of the traditional clergyman, politician or salesman. Such vocal characteristics may be interpreted as lack of sincerity, hypocrisy, or phoney "heartiness". Smith states "It (excess openness) signals that the speaker is of superordinate status and has the answers to one's problems. From mother to child openness is used to

signal security, but reminds the child of his dependent state."¹⁴ Pittenger and Smith also note the Japanese voice "breaking" which often signifies insecurity and embarrassment in Japanese culture but approximates "laughing" to the Western ear and may cause misunderstanding.¹⁵

Vocal segregates such as "uh", "uh", "hm", "tsk", are used as marks of encouragement or to signal the listener paying attention. They may also signify annoyance, assent, haste or boredom.

As with other phenomena discussed in this paper, when a person is familiar with another's voice and vocal mannerisms, a normal pattern is established for that speaker. Cross-checking with known characteristics determines the significance of any new pattern features. If a voice always sounds tired and dispirited these qualities may be disregarded if it is the speaker's normal pattern. It is variations from expected patterns which signal information. It should be noted that the auditory channel can receive several different types of information (variance) simultaneously. These may be the rise and fall of the voice on the musical scale, variations in stress or energy, variations in intensity, variations in rhythm - as between voiced segments

¹⁴Robert E. Pittenger and Henry Lee Smith, Jr., "A Basis for some Contributions of Linguistics to Psychiatry". Psychiatry, Vol. 20, 1957, pp. 61-78.

¹⁵During World War II two types of tragedy were caused by frequent misreading of signals, Japanese prisoners were punished for laughing at their captors; Americans were punished for not showing respect to their Japanese captors because they would not bow - a mark of courtesy in Japan, not of servility as the prisoners supposed.

and pauses or between silence and interruptions of silence. These variables may be congruent or not and the possible combinations are extensive. "Intuition" is probably an acquired sensitivity to these and other signals which are always present (inevitably) but are not attended to by less sensitive listeners. Teachers, counsellors, therapists, doctors and administrators in the "helping services" can and should be trained to be aware of these messages and to pay due attention to them.

For teachers, parents and people generally it seems valuable that knowledge of these matters could reinforce their "intuitive feelings" that another person is troubled, excited or in need of special attention. Science has replaced art by providing diagnostic tools.

6.3 "The First Five Minutes"¹⁶

In 1957 the first five minutes of an interview between an experienced psychotherapist and his patient at their first meeting was recorded on audiotape and subsequently transcribed in symbols on four lines. The transcription carried the normal spelling, the phonetics sound, and symbols for the paralanguage. The duration of pauses was recorded in tenths of a second. A sample will illustrate this system:

¹⁶Robert E. Pittenger, The First Five Minutes. op. cit.

or distort, it. Smith gives four possible ways of saying "What are we having for dinner, Mother" showing four different patterns. These are (a) polite, shows interest in the dinner and respect for status of mother; (b) definitely not so polite nor so interested; (c) quite impolite though still interested in the dinner; (d) impolite and extremely uninterested in dinner and contemptuous of mother.¹⁷ He also points out the mimicry of speech patterns in a four year old child who used the same pattern to say to him "Time to get up, Dad" - as father used to say "Time to go to bed, John". To the parent the child's pattern was impolite and irritating, but analytically can be seen to be transferring the learned pattern to an unsuitable context. The child had to learn to say the same sentence with the appropriate paralinguistic for pleading or coaxing rather than commanding. In the fourth version of "What'a we having for dinner Mother?" the speaker intended to be impolite but if taxed with this he could point to the innocuous nature of the words. He would repeat the words in a different "tone of voice".

On a different level, closer still to the utterance, one might say, are found the vocalizations; voice qualities and vocal segregates that are not usually intentional. They are learned, out of awareness as part of the culture when the language is learned, and in fact are so complex that they could not be taught. In learning a new language

¹⁷ Henry Lee Smith, Jr., "An Outline of Metalinguistic Analysis". Washington, D.C.: Foreign Service Institute, 1952, p. 33, mimeo.

only exposure to native speakers allows one to "pick up" the nuances normally used and to mimic the culturally understood variations which convey the signal one "means" to use. It is this "out of awareness" paralinguistic which both participants in an interaction cross-monitor to check on the state of their relationship to each other and the inferences to be made about the topic under discussion. It is here, close to the heart of language, that language gets closest to the hearts of the users. The nuances of the paralinguists signal the intentions of the speaker along continuums such as approach to rejection, warmth to lack of concern, preoccupation to enthusiastic cooperation. As has been said before, since it is most difficult to fake convincingly, these codes are believed, when protestation in words is not believed.

In support of the thesis of this study it is apparent that paralinguistic factors always accompany speech and are useful for determining the direction in which the sentence is most plausibly to be interpreted. It is interesting to note the fact that in a case where vocal qualifiers were absent for twenty to thirty minutes, on a sample recording, although all other factors were normal the person was correctly diagnosed as schizophrenic.

This brief overview of paralinguistic variables will hopefully serve to show the almost infinite number of paralinguistic combinations that are possible and to indicate how they function as communicative codes. Together with the other concomitants of speech already discussed, paralanguage is indispensable in clarifying the ambiguity of utterances, in signalling how the utterance "is to be taken", in

reinforcing the locution by consonant messages in the secondary codes or by providing conflicting messages, thus leaving the situation open or ambiguous. This ambivalence may be intentional or unintentional and may be built into the message by the sender or perceived as ambivalent by the other. One theory of emotional disturbance in children (or adults presumably) is that the child has been consistently subjected to incongruities between message systems. If the vocal verbal utterance conflicts with the messages of the paralinguistic (or other) codes, or if the total of all behaviors results in conflicting meanings, then frustration and tension are inevitable. In a study of reactions to a contradiction between facial expression and locution some judges responded to the linguistic cues and some to the face.¹⁹ Other studies showed that decisions as to which cue or code should be given belief-preference are different for different people. Mead noted that some people must be watched to obtain the maximum information from their utterances and that some people "heard" with their eyes.²⁰

A teacher or parent needs to be aware of the danger of these incongruities since children are noticeably sensitive to paralanguage

¹⁹See Sebeok, op. cit., pp. 135-137. Birdwhistell, for example, is an actor and must be watched. He reported that he could not learn a language unless he could see the instructor easily. See Sebeok, p. 177.

²⁰Ibid., p. 177. Mead also noted that Sapir was acutely sensitive to sounds but could not "see" emotions. "Somboddy might be standing in front of him with tears rolling down their face, and, until they spoke, he didn't even know they were unhappy".

and body movement - after all these codes are primary to language and well understood by the preschool child.

Once one is sensitized to the variables categorized as paralinguistic interest is stimulated in correlations between voice changes and social roles. As a person moves from one role to another very marked changes in voice quality, voice characterizers and voice qualifiers can be noticed. A teacher moving from the staff lounge to the classroom, a parent from the kitchen to the front door to greet a caller, a doctor from the clinic to his home may be quoted as everyday examples. A fresh combination of paralinguistic elements is superimposed on his habitual voice "set". La Barre reports the insights of a medical student who studied the voices he used when talking to the night nurse. He concluded he used several different voices, different in quality, pitch and accent, roughly divided into "(a) a fast student anxious voice" used when worried; "(b) a very childish piping voice accompanied by infantile gestures and attitudes when depressed, guilty or feeling inferior"; "(c) a highly theatrical voice like Tallulah Bankhead . . . accompanied by many facial gestures and clowning . . .", when attempting to shock; and "(d) a Burch voice deep and resonant used on dates or reading a paper when full of self-confidence.²¹

Another authority was intrigued by the nasal resonance heard

²¹Weston La Barre in Sebeok, op. cit., p. 231.

in the voice of a high school girl on week days "with flat heels, with a shuffling gait" and the resonance with no nasality on dates on Friday and Saturday night "wearing high heels".²²

6.4 Kinesics

We respond to gestures with an extreme alertness and, one might almost say, in accordance with an elaborate and secret-code that is written nowhere, known by none, and understood by all.

Sapir.²³

Sapir had insight about the importance of body language much earlier than most anthropologists since the above quotation was written in 1927, but it was not until 1950 that studies began to appear reporting systematic efforts to transcribe and describe body movements. The word "kinesics" was coined by Birdwhistell in approximately 1952 and has been generally adopted. It was Birdwhistell who first made a detailed and comprehensive study for transcribing and describing body movement. Taking the phonetic transcription of speech as a model he attempted to provide a code for every possible body movement. This system is called microkinesic recording and the

²²Moses in discussion in Sebeok, Ibid., p. 46.

²³Edward Sapir, op. cit., p. 137.

first example was published in 1952.²⁴ It is being extensively used again in a major work The Natural History of an Interview, (in press). This will provide an exhaustive transcription of a filmed and taped interview between three people. It will provide phonetic, phonemic, paralinguistic, microkinesic and macrokinesic transcriptions and chapters on communication each by a different specialist. This work will provide the first attempt to integrate some "nonverbal" behaviors and has necessitated a very heavy investment of time by these specialists over many years. Upon publication it will provide a primary source of reference for smaller studies such as dyadic interaction between parent and child, teacher and child, principal and teacher or friends. Since so much of this type of research has been done with disturbed patients it will be interesting to see if differences can be identified when people judged to be authentic, open and friendly are similarly analysed. Such a transcription could provide insights to parents, teachers and children with "communication" problems.

If we now return to the two people in our hypothetical interaction we have now located them in a context, in time and space. Each has a body equipped with clothes, props, a face, voices with a patterned system of variables which form part of the words of their first utterance. They are aware of their role and status and that of the other, and of their relationships, vis a vis the other. There

²⁴Ray L. Birdwhistell, Introduction to Kinesics. Louisville 1952

may be more than one relationship present. A ritual greeting may have taken place so we now can set these puppets in motion. Each participant already knows a great deal about the other from the messages in the codes already discussed. These codes are included under the title of expectancy identifiers by Birdwhistell and they form a base line from which movement arises and against which it is judged.²⁵ Body base expectancy identifiers include sex, age, state of health, body build, posture and mood. In the body set these correspond to sex identification, age grade, health image, body image, toxic image, mode and status. There may be other categories not yet classified. At no time is it possible to transmit only a single expectancy identifier and most often almost all will be perceived or inferred from signals exchanged. The physiological information is classified as pre-kinesic, as it must be understood and taken into account before analysis of body movement formally begins. One strategy of study (employed by Birdwhistell) is to study body movement as a self-contained social system, like language, operating according to a set of rules. The researcher describes the system; invents a symbolic coding device and will later attempt to explicate the rules apparently operating. This may be called the

²⁵Ray L. Birdwhistell, "The Kinesic Level in the Investigation of the Emotions". In Expression of the Emotions in Man, Peter H. Knapp (ed.). New York: Inter-Universities Press, 1963, p. 124.

structural approach.²⁶ Study is begun by observing the "normal range of tension, speed of movement, range and any regular idiosyncracies", thus a hypothetical base line can be established. The study of body motion was developed by Birdwhistell in association with the linguists Smith and Trager, who were working in the coding of paralinguistics. An adaptation of terms and a comparable code resulted in the analysis of body movement as a parallel system, a digital notation system which classified significant body movements into units similar to sounds, words, phrases and sentences in speech. The smallest movement such as an eye blink or a single nod is classified as a kine; larger units make up a kineme and may be patterned together as a kinemorph. A gesture such as a salute, a clenched fist, a hand wave would be classed as a kinemorph.

By means of sound film, slow motion projector and a device called a speech stretcher every significant detail of body movement from the scalp to the toes can be examined alone or in conjunction with speech. The code is entered on a series of lines one above the other as for paralinguistics.²⁷

This work has revealed two major codes inextricably meshed with spoken language. One is part of the inflexion of the language,

²⁶See Starkey Duncan, "Nonverbal Communication". Psychological Bulletin, Vol. 72, 1969. This article has a useful general review and bibliography.

²⁷Birdwhistell reported in 1962 that they were now using 124 lines of code. Sebeok, op. cit., p. 216.

the other adds an extra dimension. Just as intonation, stress and pitch are co-existent with vocal speech, small body movements are also a necessary concomitant of vocal speech. As the words are spoken, some part of the body moves. For example, if one says, "she is a nice girl" with almost equal duration for each word with the voice dropped at the end of the sentence and with the head lowered over "she" "nice" and "girl" the sentence will sound sincere and complimentary. If, instead, the head was turned a little to the side with a slight tilt, the eyebrows lifted and the eyes opened wider than usual (or with a wink) a very different meaning would be conveyed, which would not be taken as complimentary. The same words may be said in countless ways to convey countless shades of meaning, some diametrically opposed to the normal verbal 'meaning'. Exhaustive study of film and tape, frame by frame, reveals contrastive data of 1/24 of a second.

Kinesics is also concerned with the delineation of ranges of movement with equivalent functions,²⁸ so that instead of head movements in the above example eyelid movements or hand or leg movements could be made. However in "normal" people it has been found that variants take place in the same general body area. Head movements vary as to direction, range, velocity, the duration of holding or pause, and the tautness or laxness of the associated neck muscles.

²⁸See Birdwhistell in The Expression of the Emotions in Man, op. cit., p. 132.

These dimensions are recorded as motion qualifiers. The motion qualifiers are part of the second line of the kinesic code, that which cross references the microkinesics, just as the vocal qualifiers cross reference the vocal variations associated with speech. In the example above a just noticeable head nod would suffice to provide the necessary body movement associated with the words but noticeably deeper or more tense nods, or nods of greater or less speed, and duration would alter the 'meaning' of the phrase.

This type of analysis showing the movement of every body part, its direction, range, velocity and repetition can be carried out for each few seconds of film. A simplified summary can be made as a pictograph.

Microanalysis has revealed that certain grammatical parts of speech are always accompanied by characteristic body movements, such as the head moved back or forward, sideways or tilted. These act as stress markers on pronouns, verbs, area words such as "on", "over", "behind" and adjectives or adverbs denoting the manner in which an act is performed.

Body movement is a patterned, ordered system learned with vocal verbal behavior and the words, sentences, paralinguistic and kinesics together make up verbal communication. It is as absurd to call the paralinguistic and kinesics "nonverbal" as it would be to call the core of an apple nonapple. It is also just as absurd to say we suffer from lack of communication since this is impossible under our present definition - we probably suffer from too much communication

since it is impossible to withdraw from the system, impossible to stop communicating. However since these behaviors are learned out of awareness they are not apparent to the untrained eye or ear unless something goes wrong. Deviations from expected ranges are often deeply disturbing to the onlooker, as in schizophrenia where the eyes may be cast down all the time, or the expression "wiped off" the face. Lack of "expression", that is no movement in the face, called dead pan, is itself a communicative act. Persons who wish to hide their thoughts or to leave an utterance intentionally ambiguous can flatten the voice and "go into dead pan". They may say the same words but it is rarely possible to be sure how the words are to be interpreted.

Kinesic analysis has revealed that the body is constantly involved in coded behavior on different levels. Two levels have already been identified, one a part of the utterance and one a part of its interpretation. In addition a quite separate code may signal a range of other personal messages related to the state of friendship or hostility, respect or disdain, servility or arrogance toward the other. Permission to approach closer or a warning of anger may be signalled by the eyes, the posture, a slight opening of the body, as in receiving, or a tight closing up of the body, as in defending. The body may signal seduction or revulsion. In contrast to the codes closely associated with language which are discursive and digital these appear to this writer to be nondiscursive and should be coded analogically. Most of these affective behaviors can be classified

along a continuum from acceptance to rejection. For example acceptance, warmth, openness are signalled by turning toward the other, by putting the shoulders back, the chin up, the pelvis forward and relaxing. The hands may be held palm up, hung loosely at the sides, lifted on to the back of a settee or placed behind the head. These movements seem to signal acceptance. Rejection, on the other hand, is signalled by turning the body away, advancing one shoulder, folding the arms across the chest, lowering the chin and raising the knees close to the frontal plane. The knees may be crossed and possibly the hips turned away. Any combination of these movements together with movement of the whole body to increase distance signals a degree of coolness. The activity involved in making these adjustments may be out of awareness or located anywhere along the continuum to complete awareness and conscious manipulation of the variables.

Participants in a dialogue who are in agreement have been found to mirror each others body behavior and to change to non-mirrored behavior if they begin to disagree. This reinforces the concept that a face to face interaction of two participants is better considered as a communication unit.

To occupy and defend personal territory in a crowded room a man will make expansive movements with the arms and raise his voice. At his front door he stands four square signalling ownership. Standing beside his wife or girl friend he stands tall, looking at a possible rival with direct focussed eye behavior intended to warn the rival to back off; thus an open conflict is avoided and the status

of the relation is reinforced without words. The code is clearly understood. Such movements seem to be rooted directly in animal social behaviors where acceptance or rejection are signalled rather clearly by body positions. This is necessary to avoid conflicts. When the kinesics reinforce the message of the spoken words there is consonance. If the paralinguistics provide further reinforcement and this is reinforced by the other codes than there is likely to be no ambiguity.²⁹

However, any of these factors may be incongruent to a greater or less degree; there are so many variables. Each infrasystem has a capacity for constant change over only seconds of time; thus there is potential for many degrees of tension in the system as incongruities appear, and are resolved or left unresolved.

It cannot be stated as a generalization that a large number of consonant factors will result in credibility or that one variable will always be identifiable as the significant factor. It is always the total configuration of the whole. For example, one person may be listening to another apparently with full attention, all body articulation showing attending behavior - and then lower one eyelid in a wink. The whole interaction must immediately be restructured in the mind of the listener. He must think back for previous cues that might explain this unexpected development.

²⁹ Birdwhistell points out that courtship behavior consists of 24 steps, each responded to by the other if the next step is to be smoothly made. Chronological time is not significant. All the steps can be completed in an hour but a person who skips the steps, not waiting for the counter responses is considered ill-mannered and "fast". Lecture at Simon Fraser University, Summer, 1968.

In analysing a smile Birdwhistell shows that the feature usually considered as the significant variable - the stretched mouth with turned up corners - will be perceived as a threat or a grimace if the eyes, cheeks and neck muscles are not "smiling" and if eyes and cheeks are "smiling" the mouth can be a closed and almost straight line.³⁰ Recently Harrison has been working with pictographs.³¹

Body movement can be seen to be amenable to examination by means of Shannon's system, as other codes have been examined in this study. When movements are perceived as within the expected type, range, intensity, and direction, for the time, place, culture and sub-culture they will not be noticed although they will be interpreted just as thoroughly as the spoken words. Any unexpected variation will provide new information which will be cross-checked with reference to the other modalities. A person looks for further cues or seeks further information either by words or by using his own paralinguistic or kinesic codes. An understanding of these matters is of the utmost importance to teachers and to counsellors. One example showed that when a therapist nodded his head twice as long as usual, (head nod of 0.8 of a second instead of the average 0.4 of a second) the patient eventually stopped the interview to accuse the therapist of "not believing him". When asked why he should think that he said "You

³⁰R. L. Birdwhistell, "Inter and Intra Channel Communication Research". 1967 Mimeo.

³¹Randall Harrison, "Nonverbal Communication", in Dimensions in Communication, op. cit., p. 164.

keep interrupting when I want to tell you something".³²

Scheflen reports that a head nod is the signal that a sequence is terminated unless the head is raised quickly in small nods.³³

I have been intensely interested in this fascinating field of study but space and time do not permit further exploration of this area in this paper. I have almost all of Birdwhistell's writing in mimeographed form, much of it is no longer in print. In concluding this chapter it may be apt to quote from Scheflen:

In the course of research in psychotherapy, my colleagues and I have turned up an unexpected finding: Configurations of posture or body positioning indicate at a glance a great deal about what is going on in an interaction. This paper will discuss these postural configurations, which are reliable indicators of the following aspects of communication: (1) They demarcate the components of individual behavior that each person contributes to the group activities; (2) they indicate how the individual contributions are related to each other; and (3) they define the steps and order in the interaction - that is, the "program". All English-speaking people (who also move 'in English') seem to utilize this postural information unconsciously for orienting themselves in a group. A conscious knowledge of these postural functions is of great value in research in human behavior or conducting a psychotherapy session informally.³⁴

³²Ray L. Birdwhistell, "Cortical Movements in the Psychiatric Interview. In Research Approaches to a Psychiatric Problem. Thomas T. Townlendes, p. 178.

³³For an excellent illustrated article on this see Albert E Scheflen, "The Significance of Posture in Communication Systems". Psychiatry, 1964, Vol. 27, pp. 316-331.

³⁴Scheflen, Ibid., p. 316.

CHAPTER SEVEN

RELEVANCE TO EDUCATIONAL THEORY AND PRACTICE

This paper began with the hypothesis that a knowledge of interpersonal communication codes might be relevant to educational practice. Having explicated the nature of some of the significant codes, can connections now be drawn with the actual work of teaching and learning? Glasser states: "For most children only two places exist where they can gain a successful identity and learn to the fullest the essential pathways (love and self-worth). These places are the home and the school".¹ Here he is referring to their interaction with adults. We may add that the essential pathways are perhaps more especially gained during interaction with their contemporaries. As educators it behooves us not only to be aware of our own influence on students in the home and the school, but to teach them how communication functions, as a process, between one another and between themselves and the adult world. Teachers and parents, too, need the help of students in maintaining their own essential pathways of identity and self love. Without adequate awareness of the processes of communication students may have few insights to their own communication problems.

In this paper individuals have been considered in their interaction with other human beings, and it has been shown that the process

¹William Glasser, Schools without Failure. New York: Harper Row, 1969, p. 16.

of this communication is inevitable and that since it is there it should be better understood. In the biological sciences it would now be unthinkable to study organisms in artificial isolation from their environment. As postulated by systems theory, organisms are open systems that maintain their steady state by constant exchange of information (and energy) and their environment. The organism must constantly collect information from the environment and give back information to it in order to avoid conflict, to maintain homeostasis and survive to produce the next generation. Norbert Weiner once said about the world that it "may be viewed as a myriad of 'To Whom It May Concern, messages' ",² In Chapter 1 it was stated "A teacher is a professional communicator. To act as a professional, not as an amateur, he must be aware of the parameters of human communicative interaction, the codes by which people exchange messages at all times".³ This paper does not cover all the codes but it is hoped it covers a more significant and inclusive selection than that often encompassed in references to nonverbal behavior. When a researcher undertakes empirical studies of classroom behavior, interaction or group interaction, it is often only practical to investigate two or three variables; such as eye contact body orientation and physical contact.⁴ However it is then only fair

²Quoted by Watzlawick in Pragmatics of Human Communication, op. cit., p. 258.

³This paper, p. 3.

⁴See Wilfred Schmidt and Terence Hore, "Some nonverbal aspects of communication between Mother and Pre-School Child". Child Development, Vol. 41, 1970, pp. 889-896

that the researcher should point out that these variables do not constitute the whole of nonverbal behavior. This is not always done. Schmidt and Hore did not fall into this trap; they added the necessary cautions. Verbal communication is not a process made up of a total of individual expression in some action - reaction sequence, much less is it an exchange of words alone, in limbo. It is a system of interaction with the environment and between interactants. It has structure independent of the behavior of its individual participants. One person does not communicate to another person, he engages in communication with him, with all sensory modalities. The interaction codes share the responsibility for clarifying meanings (or obscuring them) as the interaction proceeds. It seems fair to say, from the review of the interdependent codes provided in this paper, that a knowledge of these codes is a necessary and important part of the working life of teachers and students. Schefflen says: "In recent years social scientists have belatedly come to realize the importance of nonlexical behaviors in human communication".⁵

Birdwhistell has said:

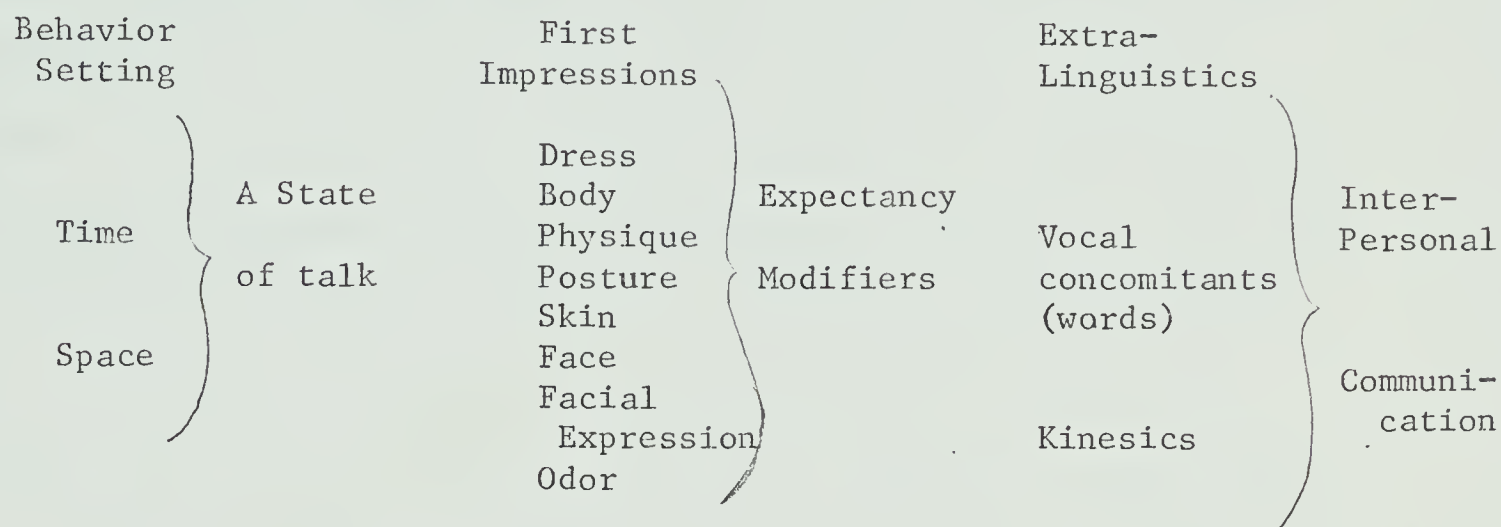
There is nothing particularly novel about the idea that the noises men make, their facial expressions or their body movements have something to do with the way in which men or animals signal their preparedness to play, to fight, to make love, or otherwise coordinate their activities.

⁵ Schefflen, Ibid., p. 316

However, because of particular cultural traditions scholars, or at least those coming from occidental societies, have tended to assume that one could distinguish the cognitive from the affective by separation of the modalities. For many, words and sentences (at least when "properly" used) carry the cognitive message. How such words and sentences are said and what the body and face do during their saying have been seen to convey the affective definition of these messages. There is probably sufficient truth in these generalizations to make the attack upon them a complicated task.

In a society which stresses literacy as does ours, it is easy to assume that words accomplish the cognitive functions of interaction. We are all too inclined to believe that verbalization provides the kernel of interactive behavior and that body movement simply frames or provides modifiers for such behavior. Part of this belief rests upon the assumption that certain kinds of behavior are closer to the emotions because these behaviors can be found earlier in the history of the species, earlier in the life of the individual, or, simply because such behaviors are less in awareness. It is an unfortunate assumption that these non-lexical behaviors are somehow closer to "nature", more instinctive and less susceptible to transformation and systematization in communicational practice. Conceptions such as these have tended to be maintained by the clumsy and misleading phrase "nonverbal communication", a phrase which, from the point of view represented here has about the same amount of meaning as "non-visceral physiology".

At this point it may be appropriate to draw together the codes we have considered in this paper in an orderly fashion. A model such as the following gives an overview:



From a matrix of conditions related to the behavior setting, time and place a state of talk can arise. Dependent on the signals received from the expectancy modifiers and continually monitored by them the total package of extra linguistics, kinesics, and vocal concomitants goes into action to make up the interpersonal communication.

It is proposed that the hypothesis, that an awareness of the interpersonal codes has significance for the theory and practice of education has relevance in many and varied ways - some of which have been discussed throughout the paper. Some parameters of special significance to the classroom are now considered.

In Canada, a teacher meets students of many different cultures and must be prepared to interpret their different semiotic codes just as he would need to interpret different languages. After I have given a lecture on paralanguage and kinesics I regularly have teachers tell me they now understand why they found it hard not to dislike a Dutch student, for example, who seemed "cold" but was merely being polite, or a Chinese

student who giggled but was merely shy. Scheflen states that there are very few gestures, indeed, which have the same significance across all cultures. Similarly clothes, gait, posture, voice inflections, facial expressions and eye contact have very varied "meanings" in different cultures. As they also tend to develop and change with the times, evaluation and interpretation have to be modified as time goes on. What was once considered an obscenity may now be considered a gesture of friendship. For example, in America culture, in a suitable context, the greeting "John, you old bastard" could be an expression of great warmth.

Teaching involves transmission of attitudes and values which are transmitted by the interpersonal codes as well as the verbal code. Van Cleve Morris says:⁶ "Dewey is saying that human beings have dispositions (intellectual and emotional, toward nature and fellow man), that some of these dispositions are fundamental, that it is conceivable and possible to form them in young people by deliberate, intentional, and premeditated means, and that this activity shall be called by the name education".

Now it is obvious that a teacher (or parent) can purport to like students or to like the subject or to like the school and no words quoted could easily show that he did not, but for some reason his "teaching" never seems to be satisfactory. This paper suggests that a

⁶Van Cleve Morris, Existentialism in Education. New York: Harper & Row, 1966, p. 106

a good place to look for the transmission of negative attitudes and values will be in the interpersonal codes which form the matrix of his locutions.

Students must know they are valued as people, that their legitimate concerns are also the concerns of the teacher and of the school. The teacher must convey this belief to each student. Much of this communication will be through the interpersonal codes. This has to be by these means because it is not in accordance with the usage of the society to make such statements in the vocal verbal form very often. The teacher cannot say repeatedly "Johnny, I like you", "Johnny, what is it I can help you with?", "Johnny, I understand you are going through a bad time". In North American culture statements are reserved for specially private moments but similar concern can be conveyed acceptably by a look, focus of attention, an approach or a listening attitude. In complementary fashion students, once aware of these codes, can give support to their teachers, parents, and peers by showing that these people are valued. The semiotic message system is an excellent mode for showing empathy and enhancing the self-concept of the other. The face and eyes can help to show a listening attitude. Giving time to another is one of the most precious messages in a world of almost unbearable pressures.

Teachers, parents, administrators and students should become aware of the field of paralanguage and kinesics. They need to be shown how concomitants of the spoken word are always present and that a measure of control or intentionality can be learned in order to improve

communication skills. A tape recorder and expert criticism can reveal mannerisms of speech which may be creating barriers to communication. The video tape recorder can be used to show how the body is sending messages at all times. People can learn to empathize and to convey concern for others through the interpersonal codes. It is not enough to counsel people to show more concern for others unless one shows them how to achieve this or helps them to unlearn paralinguistic and kinesic habits which are barriers to effective communication. They need to be shown how inseparable the cognitive and affective domains are. Brown states: "Attempts at communication solely on a rational level are bound to fail when the issues involved have personal relevance for the participants. Personal relevance connotes an affective dimension; people feel and value as well as think about the position they hold".⁸ Messages about feeling and valueing are carried both on linguistic and the extralinguistic codes. The codes are closely interrelated in the way they play their parts in the transmission of attitudes and values, in showing concern for the individual and in the giving of emotional support. An encouraging word must be accompanied by an encouraging look, by open body orientation and by a warm tone of voice. These parameters make the word believable because of the congruence of the several message systems. Brown says "Feelings of isolation, alienation and frustration and impotence, along with the loss of identity and purpose, at the least, touch most of us; they

⁷George Isaac Brown, Human Teaching for Human Learning. New York: Viking Press, 1971, p. 6

surround many of us".⁸ If this is so, it would seem to be the antithesis of an optimum climate for learning and teaching. Brown suggests a massive program of sensitivity training for educators in what he calls "confluent" education; that is a welding of the affective and cognitive domains. Since much has always been done on the cognitive domain, Brown believes it is time to concentrate on the emotional affective domain. Such a position may be exaggerated but it may temporarily serve to redress the balance.

Martin Buber has devoted an entire work (I and Thou) to the relationship of one person to another. "Perhaps no phrase epitomizes his thought better than the oft quoted 'All real living is meeting'.⁹ Not the mere saying of 'Hello' but the intimate encounter of person with person, subject with subject".¹⁰ Such advice runs throughout the existential movement which emphasizes authenticity. Fewer authors, if any, have been concerned with some of the parameters of how to convey Authenticity in practice.

If he understands the importance of how he looks at the student, how his tone of voice, his body orientation, his distance, his gestures and the other codes discussed in this paper can help to convey his conviction that the student is a Thou not an It, real progress can be made. The teacher must strive to show that the student is different from an object to be manipulated to suit the teacher's needs; that he is to the teacher an authentic human being with needs at least equally

⁸Ibid., p. 7

⁹Martin Buber, I and Thou. 2nd Ed. translated by R. G. Smith, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958, p. 11

¹⁰Van Cleve Morris, Existentialism in Education, op. cit., p. 70

important to those of the teacher. He must establish an I - Thou relationship by every act of communication with him. Those teachers who do not feel this type of relationships must realize that their attitude and values are inevitably revealed in the interpersonal codes discussed in this paper. Buber says:

The force of the words proves nothing. If many a spoken Thou indicates fundamentally an It, addressed as Thou only from habit and obtuseness. ... he who takes his stand in relation shares in a reality, that is, in a being that neither merely belongs to him nor merely lies outside him. All reality is an activity in which I share without being able to appropriate for myself. Where there is no sharing there is no reality. Where there is self-appropriation there is no reality. The more direct the contact with the Thou, the fuller is the sharing. ¹¹

The teacher's eye behavior, stance, management of time, of gestures, arrangement of space and the many other codes indicate to the student whether the teacher regards him as a Thou or an It. To be regarded as an It is dehumanizing and contributes to the loneliness and alienation students feel in the classroom.

Students too can be shown how they may inadvertently convey to others the I - It relationship which they feel for their peers or for teachers or parents. They must be taught and shown how the interpersonal codes operate as a form of language. They should take part in mime, to practice and reveal to each other how much is communicated by the body. They must be shown how hair, dress, tone of voice, posture and body motions are used by them as a form of valid communication which they have no right to discount. They are equally responsible for "statements" made

¹¹ Martin Buber, op. cit., p. 62-63

in this way. For example, misunderstandings frequently arise during dating when permission to proceed to the next stage of intimacy must be sought; usually this is done non-linguistically by eyes or body motion. If a person sends out conflicting signals, intentionally or unintentionally, misunderstandings arise. Girls can be shown that it is not fair to say "no" if the body codes are saying "yes" and vice versa. Students should be made aware that a provocative way of talking or dressing constitutes an invitation to the opposite sex just as clearly as pinning a verbal notice on to one's sleeve. Videotape can be used to reveal communicative behavior that is difficult to explain to another person.

Principals, supervisors and other administrators should become aware of the range of interpersonal codes and their operation in order to improve their interaction with the persons for whom they are responsible. They should have in-service workshops to watch themselves on videotape, practice new skills or maximize present potential. Audiotape could pick up paralanguage for intensive study. Films and tapes of dyadic interaction could be studied very closely noting the features discussed in this paper. For example, an analysis by teachers and supervisors of their own use of time might reveal how little time they have been giving to interacting with students or junior staff compared to the time given to talking with senior staff. This is natural since the job demands this type of pattern but the administrator must regularly make decisions affecting students with whom he may have lost all true communicative links years before. When a

revolt "springs up" he is surprised.

Teachers should study Adams and Biddle, The Realities of Teaching, Explorations with Video Tape, for data on the classroom as a "behavior setting". In this book the authors report the findings of many hours of videotaped observation of patterns of interaction in the classroom. Among other findings they state that the teacher mostly interacts with only a limited number of students, those at the front centre and in the two centre rows immediately facing her. They found that the teacher operated in a very limited number of areas, which they call "the footlight parade, the inland excursion and the grand tour".¹² Teachers spent sixty-eight percent of their time on the strip of the class, the footlight parade. The inland excursion consists of the strip up the middle of the room, a route on which the teacher travelled eight percent of the time. Fifteen percent of the time the teacher spent in "... a general perambulation around the room. Characteristically the grand tour involves sight seeing only - no visits are made. The primary purposes it seems are: to indicate interests, show a supervisory 'flag', or to provide exercise for the teacher".¹³ Adams and Biddle's study provides objective support of a point made earlier in this study that however crowded the classroom, the front of the room is the teacher's sanctum. They state that it was invaded by

¹² Raymond S. Adams and Bruce J. Biddle, Realities of Teaching, Explorations with Video Tape. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1970, p. 64.

¹³ Ibid., p. 65

active class members very rarely. They report that in twenty-seven out of thirty-two classrooms in the study the teacher "maintained his or her territory inviolate".¹⁴ From what has been said in this study about status related to space it is clear who is the most important member of these classrooms. Adams and Biddle suggest research to try to find out what happens when the location of desks and chairs is changed; when the teacher becomes an audience member. They say: "The reasoning is simple and starkly obvious. If placing of teachers and pupils together is expected to affect the educational outcomes, then how they interact will contribute to that effect".¹⁵ Very similar remarks can be made about the teacher's usual behavior of standing while the class is seated. Obviously this gives the teacher better control as a disciplinarian, but if policeman is not the role being played then a more egalitarian communicative posture might reduce the implications inherent in the standing/sitting dichotomy.

In relation to distance, we saw that the type of interaction possible depends partly on the distance between the interactants. The students nearer the teacher at the front of the room can talk easily and interact socially but those at the back are twenty feet away. Do they ever get to talk with the teacher at the normal conversational level? If so, does she go to them or do they come to her?¹⁶ How often

¹⁴Ibid., p. 65.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 101.

¹⁶See Adams and Biddle, op. cit., p. 89

does this visiting occur and who is within listening range as it happens? How close does the teacher sit or stand to each pupil? Does she stand two inches closer to the clean, sweet-smelling student than to the undesirables? Adams and Biddle point out that it is difficult to have an intimate conversation with someone who is thirty feet away and that physical distance reflects social distance. The teacher's relationship with students who inhabit distant corners of the room is likely not to be a close social relationships and they are likely to perceive themselves as unidentified "its" in the teacher's scheme of things. Adams and Biddle found that only half of one percent of the classroom time was spent on matters that dealt with feelings and interpersonal relations and call the classroom "an emotional desert".¹⁷

Both Adams and Biddle¹⁸ and Barnes have shown that the lecture is still the most used classroom method. The teacher was found to be the principal participant in classroom interaction eighty four percent of the time - and for fifty nine percent of that time he is doing the talking.¹⁹ This makes students second class classroom citizens. The amount of time that they are allowed to talk is a communication code which tells them that they are not the most important members of the classroom.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 41.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 38

¹⁹ Douglas Barnes. et.al., Language, the learner and the School. Aylesbury, Great Britian: Penguin Books. 1969.

Another diversion where teachers use codes poorly seems to be in accepting and answering student questions. Barnes found that few teachers were ready to let students explore subjects in their own way, but regimented their thinking to conform not only to the reasoning and thinking processes of the teacher but even to his exact words. They call it the language or register of secondary education; special words acceptable to the teacher which are not part of the normal vocabulary of the student - he says. "It follows that they are not taking responsibility for their use of such a register, and are unaware of any problems which its use may add to their student's "tasks in learning".

As Barnes explored classroom relationships concerned with the teacher and his use of language; he investigated how much of the lesson students were speaking freely, and how much they were simply regurgitating the teacher's statements.²⁰ He was also interested in how the relationship between teacher and pupils showed itself in language. He found that some poorer teachers received answers to questions with differences in timing and intonation which clearly signalled the student had hit the "right" words to use. They engaged in verbal guessing games so that the role of the of the student was simply to find the proper words to fill the spaces.²¹ He says "...questions which required pupils to reason ... were also infrequent ... in general the pupils appeared to be 'learning' that learning is a passive receptive

²⁰Barnes, et. al., op. cit., p. 18 - 19

²¹ibid., p. 33

process. This may well make some of them unsatisfactory pupils at a later stage when more active participation is required of them".²²

This emphasis on the teacher's role communicates a lack of trust and confidence in the ability of students to know their own needs and a lack of faith in them as persons in their own right. An authentic I - Thou relationship would result in a sharing of classroom time, planning of experiences, planning of assignments and organization of classroom responsibilities. These teachers, in my experience, who have trusted students with audio-visual equipment, project-orientated schedules, and other manifestations of trust have been astonished at the level of responsibility shown. It is part of the self-fulfilling prophecy which forms the central theme of Rosenthal and Jacobson's Pygmalion in the Classroom.²³ These authors found time and again that the children from whom intellectual growth was expected (whether in fact this idea was founded on previous evidence or not) were found to be significantly more likely to succeed, to be more interesting and show greater intellectual curiosity. I maintain that this expectation of intellectual capacity is shown by the positive modifications in the interpersonal codes. Rosenthal found that the way a doctor presented a so-called new drug (in reality a placebo) significantly determined its effectiveness.²⁴ The voice in which he recommends it is enthusiastic. He himself believes in it. When the doctor himself is less sure, the drug worked less well. It was also found that a shy,

²² Ibid., p. 31-32

²³ Robert Rosenthal, Lenore Jacobson. Pygmalion in the Classroom
New York: Holt-Rinehart, 1968

²⁴ Ibid., p. 16

self-conscious person became confident and relaxed when treated as a social favorite.²⁵ This "treatment" would consist of interpersonal codes which changed her perception of her worth to others.

Teachers, parents and students need to know that there is theoretical support for the point of view that dress, grooming and adornment are not frills but an integral part of the person. That, when circumstances allow, they are intentionally arranged, just as a sentence is arranged, as a message carrier. This means each person is responsible for the messages he sends and it must be considered fair if the world reads them as messages. For a student to say "I realize I always look like a tramp but I don't mean it" is for her to try to send perpetually conflicting messages and is sure to lead to misunderstanding. Parents and teachers should understand the agonizing conflicts students have over the length of their hair if they are put in the position of having to choose between friends and parents or teachers. Hair length is a symbol of loyalty as precious as the logger's hard hat or the policeman's helmet. No parent or teacher has the right to insist a student choose conformity to the adult's opinions. The student will be held responsible by his peers for this forced choice and he would be justified in wearing a sign that his clothes do not conform to his preference. An understanding of the highly symbolic nature of clothing and of the presentation of self should be taught to adults and students alike.

²⁵Ibid., p. 16

Teachers, parents, administrators and students should become sensitive to these interpersonal codes because of the important differences between a written or printed communication and a face-to-face communication. To read a report of a conversation out of context, with few of the variables which operated at the time adequately added is necessarily to distort the message. This means that all reported speech is necessarily distorted and there is no control or clue as to how it is distorted. The messages in the codes are so important and so numerous in the face-to-face situation that it is impractical to try to transpose them into the reported message. This means reports of conversations, speeches, verbal instructions, lessons, and classroom discussion, even with the best will in the world, will always be changed. The real understanding of this rather simple fact would make an immense amount of difference to how one read the newspaper or listened to the news on radio as well as how one treated reported speech of any kind. People need to be made aware of these facts.

A knowledge of kinesics and an insight into the gestalt of patterned interaction on all levels would provide insights into the uninterrupted evolutionary nature of our communicative behavior. The common error of thinking that all the rich potential of the senses is wasted when words are used would be avoided.

The potential of the human body with its complex, articulated skeleton and very numerous muscles, (especially the more than three hundred muscles of the face), is not wasted nor does it decrease as lexical competence increases. The waste of such potential would

scarcely fit with evolutionary theory. This writer believes that gestures and body language do not decrease as verbal fluency increases. A baby waves its arms wildly because it has no control, a two year old stamps and yells while screaming imprecations, but a man flexes and releases his fist, grits his teeth, clamps shut his lips, tightens his neck muscles and goes red in the face - all message systems parallel to childhood's more visible systems. People must become more aware of the type of systems to be seen by the trained observer and of their validity as communicative codes. A knowledge of semiotics would provide awareness to teachers, parents, administrators and students, and should be part of the curriculum in schools and universities.

CONCLUSION

By and large, those who have discussed communication have been concerned with the production of words and their proper usage. Communication has been seen as the result of mental activity which is often distorted by emotional activity. We now know that words are embedded in a total matrix of communication learned from childhood as part of a very specific subculture, coercive, powerful and almost beyond explication, and we may state that the understanding of this powerful system should be part of the responsibility of educators at all levels. It is hoped that the present paper will contribute in its own way to this understanding.

It may be appropriate to finish with a quotation from Carl Rogers:

I am left with the uncomfortable thought that what I have been working out for myself in this paper may have little relationship to your interests and your work. If so, I regret it. But I am at least partially comforted by the fact that all of us who are working in the field of human relationships and trying to understand the basic orderliness of that field are engaged in the most crucial enterprise in today's world. If we are thoughtfully trying to understand our tasks as administrators, teachers, educational counsellors, vocational counsellors, therapists, then we are working on the problem which will determine the future of this planet. For it is not upon the physical sciences that the future will depend. It is upon us who are trying to understand and deal with the interactions between human beings - who are trying to create helping relationships. So I hope that the questions I ask of myself will be of some use to you in gaining understanding and perspective as you endeavor, in your way, to facilitate growth in your relationships. ²⁶

²⁶ Carl Rogers, On Becoming a Person. Boston: Houghton Mifflin & Co., 1961, pp. 56-57.

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